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THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE.

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HOWEVER slow or intermittent the process may prove, there is no longer any reason for doubting that the dissolution of the Chinese Empire is inevitable, and that, in the least changeable land of "the changeless East," a new constitution, a new method of maintaining political life, as it were, has to be devised or discovered. China, unlike Japan, has put off the reform of her own house so long that the chance of executing it in her own manner, and without losing independence of action, has passed away irrevocably, while the problem itself as to how the three or four hundred millions of the Chinese race are to be brought into line with the rest of humanity has been rendered more difficult by international competition, and by the acute stage to which that competition has been brought through the consequences of the Japanese war. Five great powers are already in occupation of portions of Chinese territory, and it is notorious that the points acquired are regarded chiefly as bases from which further aggressions may be committed, or zones, more or less exclusive, of commercial and mining rights secured. If there were any indication of vigor in Chinese life, or even of the possession of that fatalistic courage which obtained for Turkey the other day a fresh period of existence, the presence of the aspiring inheritors

VOL. CLXVIII.—NO. 508.

17

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of the Middle Kingdom at the door of the death chamber would not matter, because it would not hasten the fatal moment. But under the actual circumstances it is different. It is not merely that what has been taken has whetted the appetite for more, but that the ability to strike quickly when reparation has to be obtained for the hostility of Chinese mobs, the perversity of the mandarins, and even the sluggishness of the central government, has brought into vogue new methods of diplomacy that must accelerate the process by which China will gradually break into pieces. The murder of a missionary or a merchant, in a remote province entirely beyond the control of the central government, may now well entail the loss of a whole province and hasten the arrival of the general cataclysm.

As to how the dissolution of China will be effected, or among whom the immense carcass of the moribund empire will be divided, it is too soon to speak; but I have thought it right to place at the front of this article the main conclusion to which my study of the question has led me, and that is that the dissolution of the Chinese Empire is inevitable and not remote. It is from that point of view that I would ask the American public to consider this great question of our far East, which they are now for the first time seriously approaching from their far West, and with regard to which they cannot help being an important and perhaps a deciding factor.

At a moment when words of peace are on the lips of the masters of armed millions, it is proper to note that the change that has come over the fortunes of China is entirely due to operations of war, and that in an exceedingly short space of time it has been debased from a position of proud, and seemingly secure, isolation into one of such utter prostration and helplessness as to be the apparent prey of the first or the boldest adventurer. The Japanese war exposed the military weakness and unpreparedness of China, but the most severe blow it dealt the security of that country was in showing that there did not exist any real patriotism among its inhabitants. The American war with Spain is also not without its influence on the ultimate fate of China, for it has placed the American people in possession of the great Philippine archipelago, which will justify, and even necessitate, the United States Government in asserting a voice in the decision of China's destiny. Even international peace conferences will not secure for

China gentler treatment than she can establish a right to, and in the contest of pretensions those who would be moderate will be forced by the more exacting into measures of aggrandizement. Thus, for instance, it is clear that the British Government has reached the limit of patience with which it can regard the progress of French influence in Southern China. If France, with or without adequate cause, obtains further concessions in Kwangsi and Yunnan, England will in her turn have to secure compensation in Yunnan and Szechuen itself, so that the road of Anglo-India to the Yangtse-Kiang shall not be barred. But for China the result must be a double loss of territory and diminution of authority.

Passing from a general consideration of the question to specific points, we find that Russia enjoys a position more favorable than any other power for the absorption of large portions of Chinese territory on the dissolution of the old empire. Whereas other governments will have gravely to consider how far the acquisition of Chinese as subjects may be regarded as beneficial, or even as prudent, Russia has fear of no such questions in the early stages of her operations, for the regions that lie immediately at her disposal are thinly populated. In Kashgaria and Mongolia, Russia has to conquer an expanse of territory, and not a closely packed people; even in Manchuria there is, despite Chinese immigration of late years, no dense population. Russia knows very well that no Power is likely to make the occupation of any of those Chinese dependencies a *casus belli*, however much several Powers may insist on obtaining compensations at the expense of China for those Russian spoliations, when secured. Her decision to carry these projects into effect will depend on the stage reached by the great Trans-Siberian Railway and by her other means of communication in Asia. She has planted by sea her strong garrison at Port Arthur, but she will not be disposed to move until she has completed the railroad linking it with Europe. When she does move, we must recognize that she will not need to strike a blow for the whole of the Chinese possessions outside the Great Wall to fall into her lap. Russia will be as firmly planted on the vast trans-mural possessions of the Empire as the maritime Powers will be on the sea, when the final break-up takes place. This prospect is the more certain of realization because England has not the will or intention to prevent it, and Japan has not the power.

The possession of this exceptional position by Russia, coupled with the deflection of the Siberian railway from the original Vladivostok route to the one traversing Manchuria and Liaotung, was the root cause of China's break-up. It becomes, therefore, the imperative duty of those who have a vital interest in preventing China's becoming a Russian dependency, to neglect no means of averting so dire a calamity for the rest of humanity as would be the passing into the hands of an aggressive military power of the largest, and perhaps the finest, recruiting ground in the world. What, it may be asked, are the other States interested to do, when it is admitted that no one is likely to oppose Russia in the early stages of her operations? The answer to this question is very simple. While Russia is preparing the way for the conquest of China, those who are bound to hope for the failure of her plans can either themselves absorb some of the provinces of China, and thus anticipate her, or, better still, they can either undertake themselves the defence of China or co-operate with some new Chinese government in that object. For the execution of this arrangement it is only necessary that England, the United States and Japan should come to an agreement and form a plan for concerted action. The moment for proceeding to action has not arrived, but the hour for planning and agreeing as to what the action shall be is certainly with us.

There is the choice of two courses. We can take that of indemnifying ourselves, at the expense of China, for the ambitious acts and intentions of Russia. In that case England will take under her protectorate the provinces between Shanghai and Hankow watered by the Yangtse-Kiang; America will secure some point, perhaps Foochow or Amoy, perhaps both, and claim the hinterland; Japan will appropriate Tientsin and Pechili. In respect to a policy of indemnification, such seizures of territory would be a very solid compensation for anything Russia could obtain on her side; and, as the three countries would bind themselves to defend each other's possessions, Russia would find herself in face of a formidable triple alliance. There are, however, serious objections to this course. In the first place, the three States would voluntarily and precipitately commit themselves to a policy of conquest, which may indeed become inevitable, but for which none of them, it can truly be said, is eager. In the second place, the annexation, or even the severance from Peking, of such

large parts of Chinese territory would signify the break-up of the Empire, without giving the inhabitants of many parts of it—those provinces that would lie outside the sphere of Anglo-American-Japanese action—any better government in the place of that destroyed. Each Power would have to extend its operations over a much wider area, and to embark on adventures that it had never contemplated. The establishment of European systems of government among the millions of Chinese, by conquest, is a problem difficult and dangerous enough in itself, but practically hopeless of solution if attempted in a partial or half-hearted manner. Russia, with Oriental ways and no scruples, may be impelled to make the attempt; but even she would only succeed on the condition that she merged herself in the subjugated Chinese, at the same time that she increased their administrative efficiency and military power, without raising them to a much higher level in the scale of civilization.

For these reasons, the policy of the actual occupation of parts of China, or, to use simple words, of partial conquest, is likely to be held in reserve, until it be seen whether there are not some means of saving China by and for herself. This latter attempt can the more reasonably be put into effect because, even if it fails, it might constitute the first stage of the more vigorous and definite policy.

A policy of saving China against complete and irretrievable dissolution can only hope to meet with success by the exercise of patience, and by clearing the ground. It is quite clear that China cannot be saved by means of the existing Chinese government and Manchu dynasty. Both are hopelessly decayed and moribund. The ruling caste stands pledged to opposition to reform, and the whole of the Imperial Manchu clan is thinking of nothing but the preservation of its own privileges and allowances as a first charge on the resources of the State. The Empress Dowager is the proclaimed enemy of reform; Li Hung Chang, the champion of sham reforms, has no influence, and will never possess any again; all the Manchu princes are leagued in a solid phalanx against British influence, because under that head is classed the efforts, or at least the suggestions, being made for the regeneration of China. The young Emperor made his effort as a reformer in company with Kang Yu Wei, and it sealed his fate. When he ceases to live, a child will be placed on the throne, so that those

in power may remain undisturbed. The first point to be cleared up is that the existing government of the Manchus is beyond reclamation. It is moribund in itself, and the sooner some other institution is discovered to take its place and do its work the better it will be for China and for us. There is neither obligation nor necessity for us to contribute towards its downfall, but we have to accept the fact of its weakness and unworthiness as the justification for our search for something better in the way of an administration and a responsible government in China.

If the dynasty and existing *régime* cannot be utilized for the benefit of China's true interests, it necessarily follows that nothing can be accomplished at Peking, which is entirely in their hands. Russia will be supreme there, because her policy is to pander to the people who wish to keep China in a weak and disorganized state. To concentrate our efforts on that spot of the Chinese Empire would be to play the game of Russia, and one, moreover, from which she would be sure to emerge as victor. Peking has always been the capital chosen by a northern race of conquerors, and the national Chinese dynasties have always fixed the seat of their authority far to the south, and more often than elsewhere in the valley of the Great River. It is nearly twenty years since General Gordon advised the Chinese to transfer the capital to Nanking, which is for many reasons the best site that could be selected in China. It is central, it occupies a splendid position on the finest navigable river in the country, and it possesses traditions as the residence of the Ming dynasty which would make it a popular selection with the Chinese. The Chinese have to be encouraged to devise for themselves a new government, and the first step is to provide them with a rallying point. Shanghai, but for international claims and competitions, would be the best choice, and under all the circumstances preference must be given to Nanking. The reader must not suppose these are theoretical propositions; they are indications of what will be attempted, and I may even go so far as to say that has been begun.

If Manchu influence is supreme in the north, such is not the case in the Yangtse Valley. At Nanking and at Hankow are installed two Viceroys who are not Manchus, or the slaves of the Empress Dowager, or the tools of Russia. Liu Kun Yi and Chang Chih Tung, the Viceroys at those two places, are not perhaps the men of blood and iron of whom China stands in need, but they

are honest and well meaning, and they realize the dire straits to which their country is reduced. It is uncertain, and Lord Charles Beresford's mission has not cleared up the point, whether they have yet been brought to see that the acceptance of English advice and the co-operation of British officers furnish the best means toward insuring an improvement in the lot of the whole nation. However alarmed and anxious, they are still typical Chinese, wedded to the past; they shrink from so bold a measure as rebellion against the constituted Imperial authority. On the other hand, they know that that authority has at this moment no real value, that the young Emperor is a prisoner in his own palace, if he is not in his coffin, and that the directors of the ship of state pay no heed to its course or its security. They have also their personal grievances. Their advice has not been heeded, and their provinces have been saddled with the charge of the whole of the Anglo-German loan of sixteen millions. Notwithstanding these considerations, they may still decline to take the lead in a new movement. They are free in this matter to follow their own judgment, but they will be obliged to come to an immediate decision on the practical point submitted them—that is, the training by British officers of a small body of Chinese troops at both Hankow and Nanking. It is to the formation of such a contingent in the Yangtse Valley, at Wei Hai Wei and Hongkong, that we must look as one of the first and best means of insuring China's stability. The precedent of the Ever Victorious Army is there to show that the Chinese can be converted into excellent soldiers.

At the same time, the creation of the modest military force referred to, supplemented by a British river flotilla, is not enough for the occasion. Russia has not yet broken over the frontier, but if we wait until she has actually done so it will be too late to form any plan. The Philo-Chinese Powers, of whom England, by her position, takes the lead, are bound to be ready in good time. The contingent should be formed with regard to political considerations, as well as on a military basis. It might be made the nucleus of a political and social, as well as of a military, reform. As the force would be practically independent of the Peking authorities, it should have a distinctive badge, and none would be more effective for the immediate purpose, or for that of increasing the confidence of the Chinese in the advent of a new era, than the

selection of one that would signify a social development. For two centuries and a half the pigtail has been the badge of conquest. The new force should give up the token of defeat and subjection and, like the Taepings, be allowed, or, rather, compelled, to wear the hair long. The consequences of this simple project would be far reaching, and the reformed troops would be the forerunners of a civil reform propaganda which would include the abolition of the contortion of women's feet, and of an antiquated system of education and public examination.

Enough has been said on this branch of the subject to show that there is no necessity yet to think of the conquest of China. We have to develop the latent sources of strength in it for the purpose of its preservation, and the task need only be abandoned when experience has shown it to be futile. Two movements of an exactly opposite nature may be looked to, to accelerate the progress China will make towards either deliverance or subjection. The first is the introduction of foreign capital for the construction of railways, the working of mines, and for other public works of a remunerative or promising character. Not merely will such enterprises develop the resources of the country, but they will bring foreigners into parts of it where they would otherwise not think of going. There will certainly be a railway from Canton to the Yangtse, and another inland from Shanghai. The French say they are going to spend eight millions in a line from their Annamese possessions into Yunnan. They may carry these words into effect, but it is quite certain that their immediate consequence will be to expedite the railway from British Burmah into the same province. There is to be a great mining undertaking in two of the most important and least known provinces, Hounan and Shansi, and this will bring us into direct collision with the prejudices of the people in regard to the disturbing of cemeteries and the assumed injury of the Feng Shui, or spirits. It is probable that disorders and contests must arise from this cause, as there is no reason to suppose that the antipathy of the Chinese to foreigners has been exaggerated by the mandarins, or that they have any desire to cultivate our friendship. As it always has been, at every stage of the Chinese question, the Western races are forcing themselves on the inhabitants of China and endeavoring to wring from them the admission of the principle of equality. It is only natural to assume that experience will show the necessity of our having *points*

d'appui much nearer the scene of commercial or mining activity than the sea coast. Formerly, the acts of the people brought us into collision with the government, but in the future our troubles will be with the people themselves. Whatever the troubles and their consequences, one must be the tightening of the cord binding the Chinese in the family of nations.

The second accelerating cause is totally distinct from that just referred to, and is quite independent of the proceedings of foreigners. For some time past an insurrection has been simmering in the southern provinces, and from time to time the authorities at Canton have published accounts of the successes they have obtained in the field. But the insurrectionary movement continues, and it is now declared that the rebels have left Kwangsi and are marching northwards through Hounan. If this step has really been taken, it would be curious as showing how closely the present insurgents are imitating the proceedings of the Taepings half a century ago. We know very little about the resources, aims and leaders of the still unnamed rebellion, beyond the fact that the bulk of its fighting force consists of the Black Flag bands who fought so well against the French at Bacninh and Sontay. It would therefore be useless to speculate on its chances of success. But we do know that this body of armed and disaffected men is marching into provinces where the Secret Societies are most numerous and best organized, and we cannot overlook the fact that it was an alliance between similar insurgents and secret plotters which produced that Taeping rebellion, which would probably have entailed the downfall of the Manchus but for the active intervention of the Europeans and the military genius of General Gordon. The point of immediate importance is that there are in progress in China independent movements, arising from discontent or ambition, that aim at the subversion of the existing government. These have to be watched. They undoubtedly aggravate the situation and make the problem more difficult of treatment, but at the same time they may contain the germ of better things, and eventually the best, because the most natural, solution of China's troubles. From all these causes it is clear that the rate at which the internal reorganization or disorganization of affairs in China will progress is likely to accelerate, with the consequence that the action of those foreign Powers who are interested in her fate will have to be far more prompt, vigorous and decided.

It is at this juncture in a great human question that the United States of America are called upon to step into the arena and play their part like men in a difficult and dangerous contest. They may feel sure at the outset that the regulation of the Chinese question will entail strenuous action, and, it may be, considerable sacrifices on the part of those who claim, and, indeed, cannot forego, a voice in the matter. Their conquest of the Philippines is only the first step. That group of magnificent islands will, under wise administration, reward the fortunate owners. If Americans will only take as their example Sir Stamford Raffles, whose work in Java was of a very similar nature to that lying before them in the Philippines, they cannot fail to realize the value of their new possessions, and that within a brief space of time. I would the more wish to draw the attention of the great reading public of America to the career of Stamford Raffles, because he has never been appreciated in his own country. As an administrator and statesman, I do not hesitate to place him on a level with Clive and Warren Hastings, while as a philanthropist and benefactor of infirm races he stands alone among all the Pro-Consuls, past or present, of the British Empire. In four years he increased the revenue of Java seven-fold, and I have no doubt that similar methods will produce similar results in the Philippines. I published, little more than twelve months ago, a detailed biography of Sir Stamford Raffles, with much unpublished official correspondence; but, although no book could have been more extensively or more uniformly commended, it has hitherto met with only a *succès d'estime*. Sir Stamford Raffles is not yet one of the heroes of the British public; he is a neglected worthy. Perhaps it is reserved for the American people, who are planting their feet on the skirts of that archipelago where his genius soared supreme, to place him on his true pedestal.

The possession of the Philippines, which the American people are never likely to allow to become such a *damnosa hereditas* as Formosa is proving for the Japanese, will not merely entitle, but will even oblige, the Americans to participate actively in the settlement of Chinese affairs. At first that participation will no doubt be confined to the moral support of Great Britain in its endeavor to keep the commercial field open for the whole world, and at the same time to prevent a great military power like Russia from acquiring the control of the vast resources of China, with which

she would have no difficulty in obtaining the mastery of the world. On the same side in this alliance, formed for no selfish or excluding purpose, would be and is Japan, the country destined, no one can doubt, to civilize and reform Corea. In the early phases of the question England and Japan will necessarily have to take the lead; but their action will be inspired by greater confidence, and will prove more efficacious in the result, if it is assured that they enjoy the moral support and diplomatic co-operation of the United States, and that when the need arises there will be naval co-operation too.

The natural development of the latent resources of China will offer abundant and profitable opportunities for the capital of both America and England. Each country has an equal interest in preventing their diminution or contraction. Neither can tolerate the idea that Russia is to be allowed to establish her right to regard China as her preserve. Travellers bring back from Russia the tale that all intelligent Russians, with scarcely an exception, do not conceal their hope and their conviction that they will seize the whole of Asia. Peter the Great aspired to conquer India and to control the wealth of China. His descendants are even more ambitious and insatiable. Nothing less than the whole of Asia will suffice, even if a hollow peace conference is necessary to procure for them the halting place needed for the final and irtraceable spring.

The American people are entering into the contest of commercial and political equity—I will not use the hackneyed phrase of supremacy—in China at a highly interesting moment. Not merely is the problem, which has been more or less on the carpet since the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, in a most interesting phase, but the period cannot be far remote when the momentous decision will have to be made as to the point at which the further progress of Russia will have to be arrested. The advent of that crisis is inevitable. Let it not find those who would suffer by the triumph of Russia unprepared. In the temporary break-up of the Chinese Empire, which is inevitable, Russia can appropriate a vast expanse of territory without risk, because the population is scanty, and the only obstacle in her path will be the space she has to cover. But such successes will leave the real Chinese question untouched. There is still time left to approach it deliberately and to solve it in a worthy manner. The dissolution of the

Chinese Empire, which I foresee, and with regard to which I have offered a few suggestions, is one that, if we are wise and vigilant, need not prove more than temporary—a passing episode in the life of the oldest state in the world; and perhaps it might even turn out the means of solidifying and strengthening that empire. The object of Americans and Englishmen should remain as long as possible the saving of China from foreign annexation. Let it break in pieces if it must, but let each of us preserve the fragments, so that in time some true Chinese reformer and leader may rivet them together once more. That will be an honorable and a safe policy. If it does not work, we must try another; but until we have tried it we cannot pronounce it a failure. It should not be a failure if Russia is indeed the only wolf preying on the Chinese fold, for then the dogs could easily keep her off.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

NECESSITY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

BY ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND, AUTHOR OF "THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE MORAL INSTINCT."

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH'S notice in a recent number of the REVIEW of my book on the "Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct" is not only kind, but very generous. One half of it, however, is occupied with a reply to what he calls my paradox, "that the absence of free-will does not imply absence of responsibility." I gather from the tenor of his remarks that the chapter I have devoted to the subject has failed to make itself clear to him.

The point is one that ought to be discussed until a greater lucidity of thought emerges than is now prevalent. People generally abandon it with a feeling that it is a hopeless quandary. Here, as they feel, is modern science, more and more inexorably thrusting upon us the necessitarian belief, and yet, at the same time, the needs of society demand a strengthening and not a loosening of the claims of responsibility. In this there seems to be a fundamental inconsistency.

But the purpose of the chapter in question was to show that there is no such inconsistency, and that in truth the doctrine of necessity belongs to the domain of philosophic theory, while that of responsibility belongs to the realm of practical expediency, and that the two never should come into the least collision.

First, a few paragraphs as to the growing triumph of the doctrine of necessity. Professor Goldwin Smith seems to admit that the scope of free-will is being steadily restricted by the extension of science. Scores of domains wherein men once thought themselves to be free agents, are now found to be subject to the laws of cause and effect. Speaking of the influence of our early home training on our characters and careers, he quotes Butler with ap-

probation, as one who "would probably have insisted that this did not extinguish, though it limited, his moral freedom."

But scientific thinkers are nowadays accustomed to see domain after domain swept away in which free-will was not so long ago held to have full sway. The process has crept from the physical world to the intellectual; and now it is creeping on into the moral. The man whose father was a negro, and whose mother was a negress, has no choice but to be a negro; and that not only in the color of his skin, but also in the various weaknesses and strengths of his mind. He will be a negro, not only in body, but also in the general tone of his intellect, and in those emotional susceptibilities that underlie his moral character.

But there are hosts of people who grant the full prevalence of causal relations in the physical, and even in the intellectual, domain, who yet strenuously combat the application of the same principles to the moral domain. They allow that our stature, color, sex and so forth, are fixed for us by stern necessity, and that no amount of discontent with them on our part will effect a change. They allow that our mental capacity is beyond the scope of our choice; that it is not open to any of us, by merely willing it, to sit down and write a "Macbeth" or an heroic symphony. They allow that the fundamental features of our intellects are matters of birth. But, in the realm of morals, they apply utterly different standards. They see the son of a vicious father and a mean-spirited mother, and tell us that, if he only chooses, he can be a frank, generous, high-souled man, of the noblest moral type.

Educated men who hold these views now say, like Professor Goldwin Smith, that, while much is fixed beyond our power to alter, there is, nevertheless, a margin left for the play of free-will. The negro must have a dark skin; but he may dress himself becomingly to suit his dark complexion. The schoolboy may be no Newton; still, he may do much to overcome his natural defects by means of assiduity and zeal. The boy or girl may be born with a mind incapable of reaching the heroic virtues of a Washington or a Florence Nightingale; but it is possible by honest endeavor to improve. Yet these people fail to see that the taste to dress becomingly, the zeal and industry that try to make the best of indifferent mental gifts, the desire to imitate the most virtuous models, are all inborn qualities. People born without them are unable to create them for themselves. External motives may do

much to cultivate the growth of them, but when we make due examination of the influence of heredity, and of these external motives, both of them beyond the control of the individual, we find that the margin left for free-will shrinks and shrinks till it practically vanishes.

In morals, as in physique and intellect, to heredity we must ascribe the primary influence. It determines the species to which each of us belongs. Environment will only so far modify us as to settle whether we shall be fine or inferior specimens of our type. The genuinely frank and honest nature can never, by any circumstances, be made essentially a deceitful crawling creature, unless actual brain degeneration has occurred. But a person born to be selfish, tricky and mean, will remain so in spite of the accidents of his education. These will determine only the phase that will be presented by his inherent meanness; whether it is to pick pockets and live on the base earnings of women; or to promote bogus companies, and lie volubly to electors; or, perhaps, to intrigue for selfish ends upon church committees; or, it may be, to palter with principle in order to retain a pulpit. When you see a man change suddenly from a libertine to an ascetic, you think that a fundamental revolution has occurred in his character. But, if you knew him thoroughly in both conditions, you would find him to be as much an egotist in one as in the other. Circumstances modify the specimen, but they do not radically alter the type. The seed will determine the kind of tree, but, if dropped into the soil of Labrador, it will be stunted and poor; if planted in Yucatan, it will be a giant of the forest. So, too, the moral type to which we belong has been settled for us by heredity, profound though the influence of our environment may be. Darwin and Pasteur under no conditions could have emulated the crimes of a half-witted anarchist; and the anarchist, on his part, is by birth incapable of reaching their moral standard.

But when we say that to heredity must be ascribed the primary influence, it is not by any means meant that we reproduce our parents' character. In a majority of cases the disposition of father and mother will be largely blended in the offspring. But each of us had 1,016 ancestors of the tenth degree, all living about 300 years ago. They have bequeathed to each individual their own characteristics in one most intricate blend; and how these are distributed, which is predominant, depends on causes not yet as-

certained, though workers like Francis Galton are making some interesting first approximations.

But, at any rate, this is certain; that the basis of our moral characters is as much fixed as that of our bodies and of our mental capacities by the transmitted qualities of our progenitors. In so far, then, we are creatures not of free-will, but of strict necessity.

And now as to the influences of environment. They, too, are independent of our free-will. It is not of our own choice that we were born in these modern times, and not in mediæval Europe; that we were born in this country, and not in that; that we imbibed in youth the prejudices of one faith, and not of another; that our parents sent us to a particular school, to be under the influences of this teacher and not of that. And the person who seems to fight against his circumstances and raise himself out of them, does so by virtue of traits in his character to which he was born, and by the attractiveness of motives outside of him which he never created, any more than he created the affinity that exists between them and his innate disposition.

In short, we must apply to the domain of morals the same law that is known to be in force in all others, that every effect arises out of some cause, and that that cause had its antecedent cause; and that so we may trace backward and backward, through our lives, till we find the whole train of actions rooted in some cause or other that is exterior to ourselves. Thus we are in no sense free-will agents, but creatures of necessity.

But, on the other hand, if all this be true, what shall we say of that sense of responsibility which is felt to be the very basis of social order? If the thief has been born with the nature that makes him steal, how can we, with any pretence of justice, punish him? And yet we must. It is this consideration which makes so many people fidget and grow unhappy when they clearly perceive that there is no escape from these necessitarian principles. But the idea of justice in connection with punishment is merely a popular misconception, groundless, though useful. When I slap my kitten for stealing my cream, there is no real justice in the process. Given the kitten nature and the cream temptation, the result is sure to follow, unless there operate some counterbalancing motive, and this motive will be the memory of that slap and the fear of another.

When a child of nine months has disobeyed me, I do not scold

it because there is any justice in so doing. I know that it will often have motives for disobeying me, and that, in these cases, its only motive for obeying me will be the fear of my displeasure. A large part of the early years of that child's training will consist in my expression of displeasure. And that expression is made proportional, not to any abstract sense of justice, but only to the temptation there may be to a repetition of objectionable acts. If a look is sufficient to insure that a certain thing will cease and not be repeated, then a look is the proper expedient. Or a frown may be necessary; or, perhaps, a sharp word; or a serious reprimand; or some form of disgrace; or, if all these fail, it may have to come to whipping. But, at any rate, the business of punishment is only to act as a counterbalance to temptation. There is no more inherent justice in punishing a child than there is in breaking in a horse. I bring the lash down on the horse's flanks, not because of justice, but because, if he is to be of any use, I must be his master. Society sends the criminal to gaol, not because there is justice in gaols, but because it is bound to keep a firm control of criminals. And that degree of punishment is proper which is the least that will, in the great aggregate of people, prevent the doing of an act that is inimical to social needs.

All responsibility rests on a basis of possible punishment, and its nature is this. Every man is bound to act as the sum total of the motives he is conscious of impel a mind of his particular description to act. But, into that sum total of motives, society introduces the motive of responsibility. To hold a man responsible for his acts is, therefore, no denial of the necessity under which he lay to act as his motives impelled him. It is only concerned with the due balancing of these motives, and if a man has a wish to murder, and no counterbalancing motives of sympathy or duty to prevent him, then society supplies him with a proper make-weight motive. If a red Indian, both by birth, training and tradition, is impelled to take a white man's scalp, we may allow the necessity under which he moves; but then white men confess that, when they see a friend or neighbor scalped, they are under an equal necessity to put a bullet into the scalper. Hence the red Indian refrains from the intended gratification. Not that he is a free-will agent, but that among his motives there has entered a new and dominant motive.

And in no case is the practice of holding people responsible

for their acts inconsistent with the philosophical truth of the necessity under which they act. Responsibility and the punishment that may accompany it are no more than the practical expedients whereby society so bends round the resultant of a man's motives as to make his actions conduce to the general welfare. Suppose that a cashier has come to the parting of two ways; this way is integrity, that way embezzlement. Toward the downward path certain money troubles and the solicitations of opportunity strongly move him. To the path of honesty he has other attractions. If these latter are sufficient to bring out the balance on the right side, there is, in his case, no need of punishment, or even of a threat of punishment. But, where the balance is less fortunate, society inserts its various make-weight motives. For want of straightforwardness, there is the reprimand from his employer; for small peculations, there is dismissal; for large ones there is the gaol. That cashier will, of necessity, act as the influence of all these varied motives on a mind of his particular class will determine. He is a creature of necessity; but society holds over him the influence of responsibility merely as another element of that necessity.

The man who is half convinced by these inevitable facts often angrily shakes himself clear of a logical conclusion. "What," he says, "would you reduce me to the level of a mere automaton?" And he feels the same indignation as he felt thirty years ago when told that he was the descendant of inferior mammals. But these arguments of mere personal vanity, mighty though their weight may be for a time, continually tend to disappear, as people brace themselves up to face the truth. Science is more and more humiliating us in our unwarrantable prides, while it gives us better grounds for newer, if humbler, self-satisfactions. The Castilian sort of pride that made our ignorant, and often dirty, ancestors of mediæval times regard themselves as the pivot round which suns and stars revolved, has gone by for all men of sense. So, too, the time is passing when a man of any education will throw his arms wildly about and say, "I, at least, am no automaton. I do all that entirely of my own accord." He will perceive that there was a cause for every movement, obscure though it may have been, and realize that he too in all respects complies with ordinary causal relations.

The steamer that crosses the ocean seems at first sight to choose

her own path. The steersman controls her. But the steersman is controlled by the skipper, and the skipper by a few main influences and a large tangle of obscurer ones. The man who chooses to walk on the right side of the road, instead of the left, is moved thereto by causes that sway him, even when he thinks his choice is arbitrary. We never move a finger but the act has sprung from some cause which itself was the effect of another cause, the links receding into that inconceivable past which we call eternity. Responsibility is only an added motive, which arises from the perception that we must abide by the consequences of our acts—among which consequences is to be numbered the resentment of society, if we harm it.

There are other topics which Professor Goldwin Smith introduces in his paper; but, though I think that they could be successfully argued from my point of view, I shrink from the appearance of bandying words with a veteran writer of his eminence. But the subject of necessity and responsibility has wide-reaching practical influences. More and more each year it tends to thrust itself insidiously into our law courts; and eventually the question must be fought out between the lawyers and the doctors; between those who point to the shape of a murderer's head and those who insist upon the safety of society. And if the doctors win while preaching the doctrine of necessity, the lawyers can also, with perfect consistency, win on their side, while holding that the practice of responsibility is essential to social existence.

ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE SUGAR CANE INDUSTRY.

BY CHARLES A. CRAMPTON.

THIS country is now confronted with a problem of the greatest difficulty—the assimilation and development of a large extent of tropical territory, inhabited by alien races, and impoverished by ages of misrule, in such a manner as to secure the material prosperity of the new peoples, without endangering in any way the interests of our own citizens. Notwithstanding the fact that this problem has occupied the arena of public debate since the close of the war, calling forth the most diverse ideas from eminent authorities in political economy, the most important point of view has been wholly neglected. The solution of the problem of successful colonial expansion by the United States will be found in the rehabilitation and development of the tropical sugar cane industry.

The United States of America is the largest consumer of sugar in the world, with the single exception of Great Britain. Of the world's total production of seven million tons, we absorb over two million tons, of which only three hundred thousand tons are of domestic production. We send abroad annually over eighty million dollars for this food product, so that it is our largest single item of foreign expenditure. With the hope of diminishing this drain upon our resources, the Government has for many years fostered the domestic production of sugar, and not entirely without success, for the Louisiana industry has greatly improved, and the beet industry, under the encouragement of the Department of Agriculture, has made considerable progress and obtained a firm footing in California. To sorghum sugar we must bid a fond adieu, sad though the parting may be to those of us who spent many years of labor in its behalf.

But the growth of domestic production, for various reasons which we will not now discuss, has been slow and unsatisfactory, and promises little better for the immediate future; the country cannot wait for it, especially as the means are at hand for attaining the end in view in a few years, which could not otherwise be accomplished in as many decades.

The territory of which we have lately come into possession is the natural habitat of the sugar cane. With the exception of Porto Rico, where the value of the coffee crop somewhat exceeds the value of the sugar crop, the principal production of all the new possessions is sugar. Collectively (here, as hereafter in this article, no distinction is made between actual and potential possessions, and the Hawaiian Islands are included with the islands wrested from Spain), they furnish about one-half of the total cane sugar product of the world. The inference is obvious, and the bearing of these facts upon the problem under consideration must be plain to the veriest tyro in national economy. The commodity of which we stand most in need is produced in the greatest abundance in the new possessions; it is only necessary to stimulate the production of sugar in the colonies to the point of supplying our needs, and the entire amount of our expenditure for this food product, instead of going to Germany, Austria and France, as at present, will flow into Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, bringing back the equivalent in trade for our exports.

And this is only the threshold of the inviting prospect now opening up before us. American enterprise will never be content to stop at the production of sufficient raw sugar to supply our home consumption; but it will continue the process of development, until raw sugar shall become an article of export instead of import, and cane sugar shall reassert its supremacy over beet in the markets of the world. In order to understand fully the possibilities of the situation, it will be necessary to take a hasty glance backward over the history of the production of sugar, and especially to consider the past of the two rival agricultural sources, the tropical sugar cane and the European sugar beet.

Sugar is a constituent of most plants, in greater or less degree, at some period of their growth. Its exact position or function in the metabolism of plant tissue is still a matter of theory among chemists, but its wide distribution is becoming more and more evident, as time goes on. Even the cereal grains, formerly sup-

posed to be merely storehouses of starch, have lately been found to contain notable quantities of sucrose or saccharose, the specific name used by chemists to distinguish the substance in question from its congener carbohydrates possessing a sweet taste. The popular name for this substance, however, cane sugar, indicates the plant containing it in sufficient abundance to first attract the attention of mankind. This plant, *saccharum officinarum*, probably originated in Asia, whence it has spread gradually to all tropical regions, its easy propagation from eyes on the cane itself assisting materially in its dissemination. The cultivation of this plant for its sweet qualities stretches far back into the past, "sweet canes" being mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures, and its use in China probably antedated even this mention; yet the extraction of sugar from its juice, and especially the use of the substance as a separate article of food, is a matter of comparatively recent date. For centuries it was used in Europe only as a confection or as a medicine, and it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century, a hundred years or more after it was first cultivated in the Eastern hemisphere, that it began to be an article of commerce and was imported to any extent into Europe. Once begun, however, its modern development down to the present day, when it constitutes one of the world's greatest industries, the product of which reaches the consumer for the greater part as a chemically pure article, is little short of marvelous; in truth, its history cannot be surpassed in interest by that of any line of human endeavor.

Of this story of industrial progress, probably the most interesting chapter is furnished by the rise and development of the beet sugar branch of the industry. Until the beginning of the present century the cane reigned supreme as a source of sweetness; then began the first struggles of the lowly beet to make a place for itself in the field wholly occupied by its towering rival. Aided by the lifelong devotion of Marggraf and Achard in Germany, and by the despotic decrees of Napoleon in France, slowly but surely it made its way; until the end of the century finds its proud but indolent superior entirely dethroned, and the once despised beet occupying the coveted position of the leading sugar producing plant in the world. The story of the contest has often been told and need not be entered upon in detail here; yet a repetition might well be forgiven in view of the general ignorance on the subject

in America. How many persons may be met here to-day, men of intelligence and information, who are not even aware of the single pregnant fact that nearly two-thirds of the world's consumption of sugar is obtained from the beet root? This ignorance is due partly, perhaps, to the fact that the industry is practically a foreign one, having obtained a bare foothold as yet in this country, so that its dimensions are not so forced upon public attention here as they are abroad; and it is also largely due to the relatively rapid development of the beet industry. It was not until 1887 that it passed the cane industry in preponderance of production.

If inquiry be made into the causes which have contributed to the remarkable result just indicated, we will find there is no good and sufficient reason for supposing that the present advantage of the beet will be other than a temporary victory, or that the sun of prosperity will never shine again for the tropical plant. The development of the sugar beet industry has proceeded, as is well known, along two distinct but parallel lines, agricultural and mechanical. When first taken in hand by the manufacturer, the root contained only four or five per cent. of sugar, of which but one-half could be extracted as finished product. By the application of scientific methods to its culture, the cross breeding of varieties and the selection of seed with reference to the sugar content of the mother beet, this amount was raised to an average of 15 or 16 per cent., and modern methods of economical manufacture obtained 13 or 14 per cent. of the weight of the raw material as crystallized sugar.

When we seek for evidence of like progress in the cane branch of the industry, what do we find? In the factory, absolute stagnation and adherence to primitive methods for years, which gave place to action at least only when the industry was threatened with total extinction by the increasing pressure of the beet competition. Even then, the advancement consisted chiefly in the adoption of the improved methods which had been devised and perfected by the beet workers. Not a single important improvement in methods of manufacture is native to the sugar cane branch of the industry. In the field the comparison is still more discreditable. The sugar cane is probably no richer in sugar now than it was in its wild state; at least, there has been no apparent improvement in recent years. Indeed, it is often called, in contempt, "a tropical weed" by the scientific admirers of the European plant. The discovery in Ja-

maica of fertile "arrows" or seeds, and the rearing of new varieties from them, is an indication of possibilities in the future; but it has accomplished nothing as yet, and the same may be said of some promising experiments in Louisiana in the selection of seed cane with reference to sugar content.

Yet the cane is infinitely superior to beet as a sugar producing plant, from both an agricultural and manufacturing standpoint, even in its present undeveloped condition. It can be grown at less expense under the proper climatic conditions, and the sugar content can be obtained at a smaller cost of manufacture; and, while the beet has, probably, almost reached the climax of its development, the margin of possibility in the case of the cane is wide and inviting. By the expenditure upon it of one-tenth of the study and energy which have been devoted to the service of the beet, the cane would soon overtake and outstrip its pudgy rival in the race for supremacy.

The beet owes its present success solely to the fact of its being grown in a temperate climate, where the talents and enterprise of an energetic race can be applied to the problem of its improvement. When the ingenuity and "push" of the American nation are added to the natural advantages possessed by the tropical plant, there will be formed a combination which will indeed prove "hard to beat." Some hint of what we may accomplish when we turn our hand to sugar cane culture may be found in the Hawaiian Islands, where the yield, both in tons per acre and pounds per ton, exceeds that of any other cane growing country. In Louisiana, likewise, the results achieved are remarkable in many respects, when the great obstacle of climate is taken into consideration. The question of the relative merits of the two plants has also another side which is worthy of consideration. There is something very persistent and repulsive about the natural taste and odor of raw beet sugar. It is "of the earth, earthy," and even the refined product often retains traces of this, as will be manifest to any one who will try the simple experiment of opening a can or close receptacle containing beet granulated. Raw cane sugar, on the other hand, has a most agreeable flavor, second only to that "confection of nature," maple sugar, as will be readily conceded by those among our readers whose memory goes back to the days of hogs-head sugar from Louisiana or the West Indies. Raw beet sugar absolutely requires refining to fit it for use, while raw cane sugar is

perfectly palatable, and should be used much more than it is. Some day, perhaps, the present vogue for the hard granulated article may change, and the laboring classes, at least, become more sensible and decide to use, instead, high grade raw cane sugar, such as is produced on the plantations in Louisiana, and which is practically identical with the granulated article except for a slight tinge of color, the removal of which furnishes our refineries their immense profits. Brown refining sugars, however, are a delusion and a snare for the consumer, as they contain a large amount of water, and often as much raw beet sugar as can be masked by the cane flavor.

The official report of a disinterested observer, the British Consul-General at Havana, Mr. Gollam, on the sugar producing capacity of Cuba, is worthy of consideration.* After giving statistics which show the ruin wrought to the industry by the war, reducing the output from a million tons in 1895 to a pitiful two hundred thousand tons in 1896, he says:

"Cuba in normal times may be said to be one of the most favored countries of the world for the economical production of sugar. The present condition of affairs greatly burdens the sugar industry, owing to the necessity of protecting the estates, the loss of cane through incendiary fires, and the difficulty at times of getting enough hauled to the works to use them to their full capacity.

"Under normal conditions, the contrast between the Cuban industry and that of other West Indian Islands, or any American sugar-producing country, is remarkable. The total sugar crop of any other island is equal only to the output of three or four of the largest Cuban manufactories, and, with the exception of Demerara, all these countries show considerable inferiority to Cuba in methods of manufacture and in the class of machinery in use. The neglect of the other West Indian planters to advance with the times is the main cause of this lack of prosperity at the present moment. Of the other cane-sugar countries of the world, Java is the only one which comes within 50 per cent. of the amount of sugar produced annually in Cuba in normal times, and Java and the Hawaiian Islands are the only ones which are generally advanced in the process of manufacture.

"Until a very recent date the manufacture of sugar and the growing of cane in Cuba were extremely profitable undertakings, and the reasons for their prosperity may be stated as:

"1. The excellence of the climate and the fertility of the soil, which allow of large crops of good cane. The rainfall, about 50 inches, is so distributed that irrigation is not a necessity, though it would in many cases be advisable.

"2. The great movement toward the centralization of the estates which took place in the early eighties; planters have understood the value of large sugar houses and overcome their difficulty in this way.

"3. The proximity of the United States, affording, as it does, a cash market for the sugar.

*Foreign Office Annual Series, No. 1880, 1897.

"In spite of the above advantages, the size of the sugar crop is a surprise to many, while elsewhere the industry must be fostered by bounties. The agricultural adaptability of the country, however, counts for much; the cost of labor is low, and the sugar houses have a larger daily capacity than those of any other country."

We may now pass to the consideration of the ways and means by which the desired end, the rehabilitation of the cane sugar industry, may best be promoted and accomplished. The first and foremost step should be the granting of some measure of protection to colonial sugar, in the shape of a discrimination in favor of its importation. This is absolutely essential to any scheme of development, and must not be objected to on the ground of its being political, and therefore artificial, aid. Fire must be fought with fire, and sugar has been entangled with politics from the time of the first Napoleon down to the present day. It is from her inability to adopt such methods, on account of her free trade policy, that England's sugar producing colonies have fared so ill, as evidenced by Jamaica's half expressed threat to knock at our portals for admission. We have already made the precedent in recent tariff acts by discriminating against bounty-fed sugar. This is the thorn which is rankling in Germany's side, and which is well known to be the chief cause of her unfriendly attitude toward us of late years. Cane sugar already enjoys the benefit derived from the discriminating section of the present tariff just mentioned, by virtue of which beet sugar pays an additional duty equal to the bounty it has received from the country of production. An additional protection, in the shape of a colonial differential of half a cent a pound for a limited period, would be no more than fair for the new possessions, and would still leave an ample margin for the protection of domestic growers in our own country. Hawaii should, of course, be placed upon exactly the same basis as the other colonies.

Next in importance comes the establishment of an agricultural experiment station in each of the colonies, to study the special problems of soil, climate and cultivation presented there, and all to combine in the scientific improvement of the plant. Local conditions, pertaining to the cost of labor and of land, density of population, transportation facilities, etc., will determine the best plan to pursue in each case; whether the wholesale agricultural methods of the West shall be used to produce a heavy yield at a low cost, or whether the careful and painstaking methods of Eu-

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE SUGAR CANE INDUSTRY. 283

rope, with the practical divorce of the grower and manufacturer, would give best results in the end; but many other questions of development can be determined only by a careful comparison of results obtained under diverse conditions. If the initiatory assistance of the Government be given to the extent indicated above, a half cent difference in duty and the establishment of agricultural experiment stations, the further solution of the problem may safely be left to American capital and enterprise. The talent for invention, which seems to be the birthright of the American manufacturer, may be relied upon to overcome in time the temporary handicap which the careful and economical methods of the beet technologist have given him.

It may not be considered as too wide a digression from the subject to say a few words in closing upon the subordinate problem of the retention of the Philippines. The bearing of the proposed solution of the sugar question upon the minor problem is obvious, and it is highly important that it should receive consideration at the hands of the Congress, upon whom rests the responsibility of its settlement. At first sight, it would seem that the influence of the sugar expansionist would all be cast upon the affirmative side of the argument. The Philippine Islands enjoy excellent advantages in respect to climate, soil, etc., for the growing of cane, yet, of all the raw cane sugar product of the world that comes to the refineries their's is probably the crudest and worst; their methods, both of culture and of manufacture, are the most primitive. They offer, therefore, the greatest margin for development, and would seem to be the most attractive field of operations on this account. But they are so far removed from our shores, the conditions of living, of labor and of transportation are so inimical, that the possibilities of development are nearly, if not quite, overbalanced. Internal discord and civil war are disastrous to any industry, but doubly fatal to the sugar industry, as is evidenced by Cuba's present condition. This arises, of course, from the nature of the work, which requires the erection of costly machinery in places remote from the centers of population, where they are at the mercy of the outlaw and guerrilla. No country, however great its natural advantages, can offer a fitting home to modern sugar making, unless it is able to guarantee absolutely permanent peace.

Another point to be considered is the high degree of special

training required of the superintendents, engineers and many of the employes in the factories. A large number of such specialists cannot be obtained at once, and the rate of development of the industry will probably be more retarded by this difficulty than by any other single cause. It would be the part of wisdom, therefore, to concentrate our energies upon the West Indies, which are right at our doors, rather than to waste effort by spreading it out over so large an extent of distant territory. The proposed exchange of the Philippines for the British West Indies would be a most admirable settlement of the problem from a sugar producing standpoint, and is certainly not without its advantages in other respects. It is all the more a matter of surprise that the misguided and shortsighted natives should assume an attitude of hostility to American domination, whether permanent or temporary. The future prosperity of their country depends upon the development of their chief industry, which they may soon accomplish as America's ally—never as her rival.

CHARLES A. CRAMPTON.

THE THREE PHASES OF COLORED SUFFRAGE.

BY WALTER C. HAMM.

Two events of recent occurrence are accepted as marking the beginning of a new phase of the colored suffrage question in this country. One is the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States affirming the validity of the suffrage clause of the Mississippi Constitution. In this decision the Court declared in substance that a State can limit the exercise of the suffrage, although the restrictions imposed are expected to apply to the colored race only. The language of the Court was this: "Restrained by the Federal Constitution from discriminating against the negro as a race, the Mississippi Constitutional Convention discriminated against its characteristics and the offenses to which its weaker members are prone."

The other notable event is the election of November 8, 1898, in North Carolina and the spirit in which the result has been received throughout the country. The election is acknowledged to have been revolutionary in its character, but, while there is criticism of the methods by which the object was accomplished, there is no disposition manifested to interfere or to question the permanence of the result. This spirit is strikingly different from that shown in past years when similar revolutions occurred in other Southern States, and, taken in connection with the decision of the Supreme Court on the Mississippi Constitution, it must be accepted as a sign that colored suffrage has entered upon a new phase. It is pertinent, then, to review the subject from the beginning, and discover if any progress has been made towards a solution of the race problem.

The most difficult question which confronted Congress when it came to settle the status of the seceding States was the condition

of the colored people. To set them free and leave them without the means of protecting themselves in their civil and political rights appeared unjust to the negro and unsafe for the nation. This apprehension was strengthened by the disposition shown by the Southern whites towards the new freedmen. In nearly every one of the seceded States the Legislatures, meeting before the reconstruction acts went into effect, passed what are known as "black codes" and vagrancy laws. Mississippi gives one illustration. The vagrancy law enacted in that State provided that no colored man could leave the county where he last worked without the consent of his last employer; and in case he had not hired himself within the first twelve days of the new year his labor for the ensuing twelve months was to be sold to the highest bidder. This was apparently the re-establishment of slavery in all but the name.

But what form national protection of the ex-slaves should take was the occasion for long and serious debate. The first plan suggested was a constitutional amendment granting universal amnesty to all who had participated in the war against the Union in return for universal suffrage. This proposition was, however, rejected by the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Congress, known as the Reconstruction Committee. Then the fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution was passed by Congress and sent to the States for ratification. The purpose of this amendment was to induce the Southern States themselves to give the negro the ballot, by threatening them with a loss of representation in Congress and in the Electoral College in proportion to the population denied the suffrage. Tennessee, however, was the only one of the eleven Southern States, treated as having been in rebellion, which accepted the amendment. The refusal of the other ten States to ratify apparently convinced Congress that radical steps must be taken to protect the colored people. The reconstruction act was accordingly passed March 2, 1867, providing a method by which the seceding States could be restored to their position in the Union. This act established equal suffrage in the ten un-reconstructed States, and gave the negro an equal voice with the enfranchised whites in framing the new constitutions under which these States were to be readmitted to the Union. The fifteenth amendment, which was passed by Congress in February, 1868, and declared a part of the Constitution March 30,

1870, applied to the whole Union the same suffrage rule which the reconstruction act had applied to ten Southern States. The present period of negro suffrage, then, may be dated from March, 1867.

The first phase of colored suffrage lasted ten years, or until the spring of 1877. It is not a decade to which any man or party can look back with encouragement or satisfaction. Had the Southern whites themselves undertaken in patience and sympathy the political leadership of the colored people and not left them to become a prey to the adventurers who swarmed into the South from the North, the story of negro suffrage might have read differently. But as it is, it is a story of incompetency on the part of the black man, and of extravagance and corruption on the part of the white man, who used the ex-slaves for selfish purposes. There would in any event have been an era of demoralization in the South following the war for the Union. Business had come to a practical standstill, the old order of society was broken up and political alignments were disarranged. In such a period crime and corruption are sure to flourish. And as this period of change in the South was coincident with negro control, all the evil results occurring then have been charged to black supremacy. But, making full allowance for this, there is enough left to mark this period as one of the most humiliating in modern history. One proof of the extravagance and corruption prevailing is the increase in the debts of the states which were at any time ruled by the blacks. The following table shows this increase:

States.	Debt at close of war.	Debt at end of negro control.	Increase.
Alabama.....	\$7,945,000	\$52,761,917	\$44,816,917
Arkansas.....	2,084,719	19,398,000	17,313,281
Florida.....	370,617	15,797,587	15,426,970
Georgia.....	2,670,750	42,509,500	39,829,750
Louisiana.....	11,000,000	40,021,734	29,021,734
North Carolina.....	12,689,245	34,887,464	22,198,219
South Carolina.....	4,407,958	22,480,516	18,072,558
Texas.....	2,000,000	14,930,000	12,930,000
Virginia.....	33,248,141	47,090,866	13,842,725
Totals.....	\$76,416,430	\$289,868,584	\$213,452,154

Two-thirds of this increase of \$213,452,154 in the public debt of these nine states can be justly charged to the extravagance and corruption prevailing under negro-Republican rule, and a fair idea of the capacity of the negro to govern can be gained from it.

South Carolina offered the most humiliating illustration. Its public debt was increased fivefold and its Legislature was at one time composed almost wholly of blacks. This condition of things earned for it the title of the "prostrate State." In all the states subject at any time to colored-Republican control taxation increased also at such a rapid rate as to threaten the virtual confiscation of property within a few years.

But this condition of things could not continue. It was unnatural and intolerable. The pyramid of society was poised on its apex and the law of gravity was sure to assert itself. The political balance between ignorance and corruption on one side and intelligence and property on the other had to be restored. But the way in which this was done created another condition as bad as the one it superseded. The remedy was no better than the disease. Instead of using moral force, brute force was chosen as the instrument for securing white supremacy. White violence and fraud were pitted against black ignorance and corruption, and the former won. The colored voter was intimidated by the night-riding Ku-Klux-Klan and frightened away from the polls by threats on his life. This was called "bulldozing," a word which came into the vocabulary along with negro suffrage and the use of which ceased when the need ended. Ballot boxes were stuffed with tissue ballots and forgery on tally sheets was freely committed. In this way State after State was reclaimed by the whites, until in 1875 only four Southern States remained under negro-Republican control. These were Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. In 1875 Mississippi was reclaimed from negro rule by what has since been known as the "Mississippi plan," and in 1876 the same "plan" was successfully used in the three remaining States. And when in 1877 President Hayes recognized these white state governments the whole fabric of negro-Republican rule in the South crumbled to the ground.

The second phase of negro suffrage began with the whites in control in every Southern State and determined to perpetuate that control. The means used to insure this were violence and crime against the blacks, and political, social and business ostracism against the few whites who persisted in adhering to the Republican party. The late Colonel H. C. Parsons, who was a native of Virginia and who served in the Army of the Confederacy, but was a Republican in politics, left an account of the disadvantages un-

der which a Southern Republican labored. The following is an extract from his statement describing conditions in the South as late as 1892 :

"Never was usurpation so entrenched as that of our Bourbon Democracy; never a party so perfect in organization, so methodical and merciless in the use of power. The most effective of all its agencies to-day are the boycott and the social ban. These twin monsters guard the avenues of escape. So little does this seem to be understood in the North, I am constrained to explain the situation in Virginia, where it is less severe than in States further South. There is here an organized and understood conspiracy that reaches every place where men seek credit, or a market, or employment. Every Southern-born white man who takes the *New York Tribune*, or the *Philadelphia Press*, or the *Cincinnati Commercial* is marked as an enemy of the South. He cannot buy on credit, or borrow at the banks, or obtain employment on as favorable terms as other men. In the proud city of Richmond, by a resolution of its Council, no man who votes the Republican ticket can work for the contractor on the streets. Eight years ago there was a short crop and much distress among farmers. "Fertilizer notes" for hundreds of thousands of dollars were maturing. A circular was sent by at least two great houses in Baltimore through our banks not to renew any notes of men who voted for Blaine. Four years later our State papers, by order of the Democratic committee, called upon every country merchant to stand at the polls from the opening to the close; and every man knew without telling that he could not buy another pound of coffee without cash if he voted for Harrison. There are white counties and mining districts, there are cities like Roanoke and Pocahontas, and communities near Washington like Falls Church, where this rule has been changed, but from the Blue Ridge to the sea, through sixty counties, in the great cities of Richmond, Petersburg, Danville and Lynchburg, a man cannot trade or practice a profession as successfully and vote a Republican ticket. There is not a white church in which, if it was stated that the preacher had voted against the Democratic party, pews would not be vacated."

The Southern Republicans, however, were not the only ones deprived of their political rights by the means adopted to maintain white supremacy in the South. The North was also denied its rightful influence in the direction of national affairs. Representation in Congress being based on the total population, it follows that if one-third or one-half the population is denied the right to vote a greatly increased political power is gained by the other one-half or two-thirds that retain their suffrage rights. They vote for themselves and the disfranchised also. The States in which such conditions exist exert a political power and influence in the nation out of proportion to their enfranchised population, and the other States are deprived of their just proportion of power and influence. This is the situation which has actually existed since 1877. The colored population in the South is counted in apportioning members of the House of Representatives, but its

vote is largely suppressed. This has added an additional and disproportionate value to every white vote cast in that section. How great this increased power is can be seen in the following table, which gives the white and colored population in the eleven Southern States in which the blacks are numerous, according to the census of 1890, and the number of Representatives in Congress apportioned to each class of population :

States.	White population.	Congressmen representing whites.	Black population.	Congressmen representing blacks.
South Carolina.....	462,008	3	689,141	4
Mississippi.....	544,851	3	744,749	4
Georgia.....	978,357	6	858,996	5
Alabama.....	833,718	5	679,299	4
Louisiana.....	558,395	3	560,192	3
Virginia.....	1,020,122	6	635,858	4
Florida.....	224,949	1	166,473	1
North Carolina.....	1,055,382	6	562,565	3
Tennessee.....	1,334,637	8	430,881	2
Texas.....	1,745,935	10	439,588	3
Arkansas.....	188,752	5	309,427	1
		56		34

Thirty-seven per cent. of the representation of these eleven States in Congress is based on the black population, but as colored suffrage is practically nullified in all of them the political power of the white vote is increased in national affairs by just so much per cent. In South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia, taken together, a white vote counts for as much as two votes in the North in determining the complexion of Congress and in deciding who shall be President.

But the political wrong done to the Southern blacks and the Northern whites by the suppression of the colored vote was not the worst result of the methods employed to maintain white supremacy in the South. Open acquiescence in fraud on the ballot boxes and in deeds of violence against the negroes worked endless demoralization among the Southern whites themselves. The public conscience was debauched and the moral sense of the people blunted. It is only natural for men to argue that if crime is excused for a political purpose it will be excused for all purposes, and that if an oath known to be false is accepted by courts as evidence of the correctness of an election return, a false oath will be accepted in a civil suit. So great is the confusion wrought in this way that the leading newspaper of South Carolina was compelled a few years ago to instruct the rising generation to make a distinction between the nature of an election oath and an oath in any

other case. Other evidences of the harm done to society in the South by the methods used to maintain white supremacy are the propensity to mob law and the large number of defaulting State Treasurers, by whose dishonesty the Southern people lost millions of dollars. From all these causes the level of civilization was sensibly lowered, the industrial progress of the section checked, life and property made insecure and a carnival of crime begun.

This condition of things could not be the permanent solution of the colored suffrage question. The methods employed involved too great a strain on the public conscience. The social demoralization was too great. The political injustice to the North and the violation of law were too evident. To go back to negro control was unthinkable. One way out was to find some method of legalizing the suppression of the colored vote which would not conflict with the Federal Constitution. Mississippi took the first step towards reaching this end by framing a new constitution, the suffrage clause of which can be interpreted so as to discriminate against the ignorant colored voter and in favor of the ignorant white voter. It says that every elector "shall be able to read any section of this constitution, or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof." It is this clause which the Supreme Court declared valid. It is easy to see how this clause can be manipulated, as it is manipulated, against the illiterate colored voter and in favor of the illiterate white voter.

The Mississippi constitution was framed in 1890. In 1895 a convention met in South Carolina and adopted a constitution the suffrage clause of which gives the right to vote to all who can read the constitution or explain it when read to them, provided they were registered before January 1, 1898. But all who were not so registered must be able to read and write or pay taxes on property valued at three hundred dollars, at least. In 1897 Louisiana followed by adopting a constitution which provides that electors must be able to read and write or be the owners of property valued at not less than three hundred dollars. But this is qualified by the provision that every person who was entitled to vote January 1, 1867, in any State of the Union, and his sons and grandsons who were twenty-one years of age or over in 1897, shall also be allowed to vote, provided they were registered previous to September 1, 1897.

The adoption of these constitutions and the probability that other States will follow marks the beginning of the third phase of negro suffrage. It is too early to determine what the result will be or how long this phase will last. As yet there is no apparent reason to suppose that these educational requirements have stimulated the illiterate whites and blacks to greater efforts to qualify themselves for the suffrage. Nor is the immediate effect on the whites themselves beneficial. A widespread and perilous indifference to their political duties has followed among the whites in each of the three States which have adopted constitutions eliminating the colored vote. This is evident from the following table, which compares the vote cast in 1876 with the poll of 1898 :

VOTE OF 1876.			
States.	Republican poll.	Democratic poll.	Totals.
Louisiana.....	75,315	70,508	145,823
Mississippi.....	52,705	112,143	164,848
South Carolina.....	92,081	91,540	183,621
Totals.....	220,101	274,191	494,292

VOTE OF 1898.			
States.	Republican poll.	Democratic poll.	Totals.
Louisiana.....	5,667	27,629	33,296
Mississippi.....	3,573	23,804	27,377
South Carolina.....	2,823	28,970	31,793
Totals.....	12,063	80,403	92,466

THE TWO YEARS COMPARED.			
	Republican.	Democratic.	Totals.
Vote of 1876.....	220,101	274,191	494,292
Vote of 1898.....	12,063	80,403	92,466
Difference.....	208,038	193,788	401,826

According to the census of 1890 there were 757,249 males of voting age in these three States, of whom 354,016 were whites and 403,233 were colored. The natural increase from births and emigration must have brought the total up to 900,000 and the white voters to about 400,000. The Republican vote may be considered as solidly black and the Democratic vote as solidly white. And as only 80,403 Democratic votes were polled in the three States only one white voter in five felt enough interest in the election to go to the polls. A similar result will doubtless follow in every Southern State which takes from the colored man the right to vote. Such political apathy cannot be viewed with unconcern. If it becomes

permanent it must lead inevitably to the formation of a small voting class and to the establishment of government by an oligarchy. Such conditions are not healthful in a country where the purity and efficiency of the government depend upon an alert and informed voting constituency. The present situation cannot, then, be considered as the final solution of the colored suffrage problem.

But what will that solution be? To be permanent it must be based on right and justice to all races and to all sections. One answer to the question is that by waiting until the negro has become fitted for citizenship by education and discipline the problem will solve itself. It is probably true that in process of time, covering two or more generations, the elevation of the negro may solve the race problem, although there are high authorities claiming that the whites and blacks can never live on terms of political equality in the same country. But conceding for the moment that time will bring a solution, what in the meanwhile is to be the situation while the solving process is going on? The South insists that it will not be ruled by ignorance. That is correct. But is it right for the South to take the ignorance which it discards in its home governments and use it as an aid in gaining political powers in the nation? Is this reasonable? Is this just and fair? And yet this is exactly what the South is doing when the colored population is counted in apportioning Representatives in Congress and votes in the electoral college, and the colored vote is suppressed. The South asks the nation to permit in the country at large what it will not permit in its local affairs. This the nation cannot consent in justice to all sections to allow. The South demands that intelligence shall control in its local affairs. Is it unjust for the nation to ask the South to submit to the same rule in national affairs?

There is one straight road out of the embarrassments into which colored suffrage has brought the country. This is through a constitutional amendment making ability to read and write a requirement for the exercise of the suffrage, and also making literacy the basis for the apportionment of members of the House of Representatives and, consequently, of votes in the electoral college. This method will bring the only lasting solution of this problem. Other methods are but patches and poultices applied to a sore on the body politic. The results of such a solution are worked out in a table following. The Federal census of 1890 does

not give the number of people in the country able to read and write at the age of twenty-one years and over. But it gives the illiterates twenty years and over, and from these figures the literates in each State can be obtained. Taking the literates twenty years of age and over as a basis and giving one Representative in Congress to each 80,000 of literates, and allowing an additional Representative to States with the largest fractions, representation in Congress and in the electoral college can be easily ascertained. Such a scheme is presented in the following table:

States.	Total Population.	Literates 20 years of age and over.	Representatives in Con- gress.	in Elec- toral Col.	Loss or Gain.
Alabama.....	1,513,017	381,256	5	7	— 4
Arkansas.....	1,128,179	350,653	4	6	— 2
California.....	1,208,130	697,667	9	11	+ 2
Colorado.....	419,198	159,506	2	4	none
Connecticut.....	746,258	442,134	6	8	+ 2
Delaware.....	168,493	80,472	1	3	none
Florida.....	391,422	127,348	2	4	none
Georgia.....	1,837,353	474,631	6	8	— 5
Idaho.....	84,385	44,796	1	3	none
Illinois.....	3,826,351	1,974,306	25	27	+ 3
Indiana.....	2,192,404	1,101,678	14	16	+ 1
Iowa.....	1,911,896	969,998	12	14	+ 1
Kansas.....	1,427,006	691,214	9	11	+ 1
Kentucky.....	1,858,635	691,347	9	11	— 2
Louisiana.....	1,118,587	275,311	3	5	— 3
Maine.....	661,086	389,693	5	7	+ 1
Maryland.....	1,042,390	468,804	6	8	none
Massachusetts.....	2,238,943	1,326,543	17	19	+ 4
Michigan.....	2,093,889	1,107,096	14	16	+ 2
Minnesota.....	1,301,826	643,431	8	10	+ 1
Mississippi.....	1,289,600	299,810	4	6	— 3
Missouri.....	2,679,184	1,234,687	15	17	none
Montana.....	132,159	85,918	1	3	none
Nebraska.....	1,058,910	527,579	7	9	+ 1
Nevada.....	45,761	26,233	1	3	none
New Hampshire.....	876,530	227,453	3	5	+ 1
New Jersey.....	1,444,933	788,152	10	12	+ 2
New York.....	5,997,853	3,441,117	43	45	+ 9
North Carolina.....	1,617,947	450,922	6	8	— 3
North Dakota.....	182,719	90,508	1	3	none
Ohio.....	3,672,316	1,936,957	24	26	+ 3
Oregon.....	313,767	173,073	2	4	none
Pennsylvania.....	5,258,014	2,722,472	34	36	+ 4
Rhode Island.....	345,506	191,424	2	4	none
South Carolina.....	1,151,149	259,529	3	5	— 4
South Dakota.....	328,808	162,905	2	4	none
Tennessee.....	1,767,518	575,051	7	9	— 3
Texas.....	2,235,523	788,561	10	12	— 3
Utah.....	207,905	94,598	1	3	none
Vermont.....	332,422	191,528	2	4	none
Virginia.....	1,655,980	526,525	7	9	— 3
Washington.....	349,390	209,983	3	5	+ 1
West Virginia.....	762,704	305,559	4	6	none
Wisconsin.....	1,686,880	821,841	10	12	none
Wyoming.....	60,705	37,365	1	3	none
			361	451	

The census of 1900 would make a few minor changes in the

scheme, but its general features would remain the same. It would base representation and the government of the nation on the education and intelligence of the country, where it should permanently rest. It would be fair and just to all sections and so would give a final solution to the vexatious colored suffrage question. The South, surely, could not offer any opposition to it, for it would only apply to the whole country the rule which the Southern whites claim must prevail in that section. The weightiest arguments that can be brought against it are the facts that it will require a constitutional amendment, and that the conservative character of the American people makes the work of changing the constitution slow, tedious and doubtful. But if there is no other method so quick, sure and permanent it is worth while to make the effort. If the South, however, will not consent to a scheme so fair, then the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution should be rigidly enforced. And the second clause of that amendment says "When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such State being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion in which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

This question of colored suffrage involving, as it does, the capacity of the dark races to improve and rise to the level of the white races, has a broader significance than its effect upon this country alone. If the late Charles H. Pearson was correct in his "Forecast" the time is near when the dark races are to enter more actively into the world's affairs, and on their capacity to improve and to keep equal step with the white races depends in a great degree the safety of what has been gained for civilization already and what further advances are to be made in the arts and sciences. All of Mr. Pearson's premises may not be well based, and so all his conclusions may not be warranted. But it is evident to the most superficial observer that the progress of events is bringing the white race into closer and more constant relations with the dark races, and the more profound thinkers are seriously question-

ing what the result to civilization is to be. Will this more intimate contact be followed by the elevation of the dark skinned man or by the deterioration of the white skinned man? It was Mr. Pearson's forecast that the latter was the more probable result.

But a lowering of the aggressive qualities, mental, moral and physical, which have enabled the white man to subdue to his purpose every country and clime he has invaded, cannot be contemplated with serenity. These qualities are absolutely necessary to progress and the preservation of civilization. They must be saved at all hazards. But the question whether they can be saved if the white races attempt to lift to their own level the dark races has still to be answered. The test now being made in this country as to the capacity of the black man to develop and reach the highest civilization must throw needed light on this problem. And in any event the training and disciplining that 8,000,000 or 9,000,000 colored people are receiving in this country cannot fail to exert a profound influence upon the future of the dark races all over the world. And it must add to the value of the result reached that this training and discipline is being acquired under the best available conditions and in a way to develop most quickly and fully the capabilities of an important branch of the dark races. If this attempt succeeds many apprehensions will be quieted and the future of civilization and progress will be more secure.

However skeptical De Tocqueville may have been of the capacity of the white and dark races to live together in the same country on an equal footing, he was generous in his praises of the nation that has done more than any other people to ameliorate the condition of the dark skinned man. The greatest and most praiseworthy achievement of the English, in De Tocqueville's opinion, is the conquest and peaceful government of India. It may have been to work out one other phase of this problem of the dark races that the negro was brought to this continent and placed in contact with the most virile branch of the Anglo-Saxon family. Viewed in this light, the experiment in colored suffrage and its results assume an aspect more than local or even national. It becomes world-wide in its significance. It may strengthen the patience of the American people and encourage them to persevere in the task set before them to know that they are helping to work out one of the greatest problems of the human race.

WALTER C. HAMM.

THE SOURCES OF NATIONAL REVENUE.

BY THE LATE NELSON DINGLEY, JR., CHAIRMAN OF THE WAYS
AND MEANS COMMITTEE IN THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES AND AUTHOR OF
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THE strength and prestige of a nation are measured largely by its available material resources and its ability and disposition to draw from them abundant revenue to support the government and maintain the national credit.

The Confederation of States which preceded the Union failed largely because it was denied the power to impose and collect taxes, the right to make requisitions on the States proving to be too uncertain a reliance for revenue to carry on the government.

When the Convention which formed the Constitution met and addressed itself to the vital subject of conferring upon the Union the power of levying taxes to provide means of supporting the Federal Government, it found many States objecting to the surrender of any part of the direct taxation of property upon which they relied for the support of their State governments, and some States, which had large receipts from imports, insisting that they should not be called upon to surrender all of this revenue to the nation.

The adjustment of Federal taxation was finally secured by one of the compromises of the Constitution, by which the Federal Government was given:

1. The exclusive right to impose duties on imports; the power to impose export duties being withheld from both the States and the Union.
2. The concurrent right with the States to impose excises, imposts and indirect taxes, with little indication as to the line of demarcation between direct and indirect taxes; and
3. The right to impose direct taxes on persons and property, provided such taxes should be apportioned among the States according to population.

When the Federal Government went into operation, Hamilton was by general consent made Secretary of the Treasury, and he at once addressed himself to the great problems of revenue and the adjustment and funding of the debts contracted by the Confederation and the States in the war for independence, aggregating \$85,000,000, or nearly twenty dollars per capita. And this great debt—a burden far greater, in proportion to the wealth of the country at the respective periods, than the debt of the civil war—and the expenses of inaugurating and carrying on a new government, could be met practically only by such indirect taxation as duties on imports and the limited excise taxes then available in dealing with a sparse population of limited means, mainly devoted to agriculture, lumbering and fishing, and unused to taxation by any authority other than the State or municipality.

The task which faced the great finance minister was one which might well appal the stoutest heart; but Hamilton proved equal to the exigency. Conscious of the jealousy of national authority, and especially of national taxation, entertained by the extreme States-rights advocates, he moved cautiously but firmly.

In his first communication to Congress, he recommended (1.) the imposition of duties on imports and (2.) the imposition of an excise tax on distilled spirits.

To the first recommendation Congress responded favorably and with entire unanimity; for while, on the one hand, the Federalists regarded customs duties as the most important resource of national revenue, the Anti-Federalists insisted that any other resource should be avoided, which would bring national tax collectors into the States to assess and collect taxes for the maintenance of the national government.

Madison promptly reported, and Congress on the 4th of July, 1789, passed, a bill imposing duties on imports; the preamble reciting that the object of the measure was "for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures."

It is noteworthy that a question which has in the last half century divided parties—to wit, the constitutionality and wisdom of so adjusting duties on imports, in the raising of revenue, as to encourage home industries—should have been accepted by general consent by every member of the first Congress, many of whom had taken a leading part in framing the Constitution, and even

distinctly affirmed in the preamble of the first tariff enactment.

The opposition to an excise tax on distilled spirits was so determined that nearly two years elapsed before Congress, impelled by stern necessity, favorably responded to Hamilton's recommendation.

Three years later (June 5, 1794), Hamilton, in spite of the strong opposition of the Anti-Federalists, succeeded in persuading Congress to extend the excise taxes to tobacco, snuff, carriages kept for pleasure, dealers in liquor, sales at auction and the manufacture of refined sugar, with stamp taxes on certain legal instruments.

Thus, after five years' labors, in the face of enormous difficulties, the great finance Secretary saw the successful fruition of his unceasing efforts; the revolutionary war debts adjusted and funded; the interest provided for and the principal in the way of final payment; the expenses of the government amply met; and the credit of the nation successfully established.

The next year Hamilton withdrew from the Treasury and retired to private life, carrying with him the gratitude of the people whom he had served with such masterly ability, and meriting, in the judgment of thoughtful men, the splendid tribute which Webster bestowed upon this great finance minister, in the fervid eulogium familiar to every political student:

"Hamilton smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the public credit, and it sprang upon its feet. The fabled birth of Minerva from the brain of Jove was hardly more sudden or more perfect than the financial system of the United States as it burst forth from the conception of Alexander Hamilton."

I have thus dwelt on the revenue policy successfully set in operation by Hamilton, because it has been the basis in whole or in part of all Federal revenue legislation since his day; and his papers on the source of national revenue under the Constitution, and the most effective methods of reaching these sources for taxation, still remain among the most valuable literature on the subject.

The only source of revenue open to the national government under the Constitution which Hamilton did not venture to lay hold of, was direct taxation apportioned among the States according to population; and he did not, obviously because of the fact

that the constitutional requirement for its apportionment necessarily makes it so unequal that it will never be resorted to except in supreme need.

Wolcott, who succeeded Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, when the French war cloud of 1798 appeared, recommended, and Congress imposed, a direct tax of two millions annually, levied on houses, lands and slaves, and apportioned among the States according to population; but the tax proved so unpopular and the returns were so unsatisfactory that it was repealed after one assessment. The direct tax was temporarily employed again in the war of 1812, with less difficulty, because the States were allowed to assume and collect their several quotas; but the tax was repealed as soon as the exigency passed. And the third and last time that this tax was employed was at the opening of the war of secession in 1861, but with so unsatisfactory results that only one assessment was made; and even that, so far as paid, was subsequently refunded.

The excise taxes imposed on the recommendation of Hamilton were bitterly condemned by the Anti-Federalists, both at the time of their enactment, and subsequently; and when the Anti-Federalists came into power in 1801 one of their first acts was to sweep them all from the Statute Book.

Thus from 1801 to 1812 the sole sources of revenue drawn upon to meet the expenditures of the national government were duties on imports (increased or modified twelve times between 1789 and 1813), tonnage duties and receipts from the sale of public lands. From 1800 to 1808 imports increased so rapidly that these sources of revenue sufficed, but under the embargo the receipts from customs fell off so rapidly that there was a deficiency in 1809, 1810 and 1812, notwithstanding the liberal receipts from the sale of public lands.

When the war of 1812 broke out, Gallatin, who was Secretary of the Treasury, and who had set his face against excise taxes in the partisan contests of previous years, undertook for nearly a year to carry on the war by loans, without additional taxation; and the inevitable result was that the credit of the government collapsed, and our bonds fell first to 80 and then to 60 cents on the dollar.

The situation became so serious that, by the summer of 1813, President Madison was alarmed and convened an extra session of

Congress, which speedily threw theories to the winds and re-enacted the excise taxation which Hamilton had recommended and which had been overthrown in 1801, going further in 1814 than Hamilton had gone, by imposing heavy taxes on the manufacture and sale of a long list of articles.

When the war closed the excise taxes were prematurely repealed—the repeal to take effect in 1817—although the debt had been increased \$127,000,000, with the result that, if it had not been for the large receipts from the sale of public lands (14 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions in 1835 and 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions in 1836—more than the receipts from customs), there would have been a deficiency of the revenue required to meet the ordinary expenditures and pay the interest on the debt in every year but five from 1818 to 1844; and, even with these receipts from the sale of public lands, there was a deficiency in sixteen of the forty-two years between 1818 and 1860.

The war with Mexico was successfully carried on in 1846-7 by borrowing, without additional taxation, a course made possible by the brevity of the contest, the small force required to wage it, the large receipts from the sale of public lands between 1846 and 1856 and the increased revenue induced by the Californian and Australian gold discoveries and the Crimean war.

The financial and business depression which followed the reduction of the tariff in 1857, resulted in so large a falling off of the revenue in the three years preceding the opening of the civil war as to cause a deficiency exceeding forty millions, which, with the alarm arising from threatened secession, so weakened the national credit as to make it necessary in 1860 for the government to pay from 8 to 12 per cent. interest on the loans required to meet the public expenditures. Indeed, in February of that year, six per cent. ten-twenty bonds of the United States sold in limited quantities at an average of \$89 per one hundred dollars; and in December the Secretary of the Treasury invited proposals for five millions of interest-bearing Treasury notes, and finally succeeded in disposing of only four millions at 12 per cent.

The difficulties encountered by the government in providing adequate means to carry on the war for the preservation of the Union, from 1861 to 1865, are so burned into the memory of the survivors of that gigantic contest that it is only necessary to refer to them so far as may be useful for an adequate consideration of the sources of revenue of the national government in a great

exigency; for the necessities of the nation were so great in that struggle for existence that after 1863 every resource of taxation open to the Federal authority was laid hold of. Indeed, one resource of the State—the income tax—since declared by the Supreme Court to be unavailable for Federal purposes, was seized upon by the national authority without serious objection, in view of the needs of the hour.

The only criticism, outside of the issue of legal tender demand notes without a redemption fund to maintain them at par, which can justly be ventured in the light of subsequent events—and even this is excused by the general expectation at the outset that the contest would be brief and restricted—is that there was too great delay in imposing the taxation necessary to maintain the public credit and provide means for a war which, up to 1866, cost over 4,200 millions, and up to the present time nearly seven billions.

Commencing with a revenue of only 41½ millions in 1861 and 52 millions in 1862, the receipts rose to 112 millions in 1863, 243½ millions in 1864, 322 millions in 1865, and culminated with 520 millions in 1866—or \$15.73 per inhabitant—of which 179 millions (\$5 per capita) were derived from customs and 311 millions (\$9 per capita) from internal taxes.

Of the latter, 73 millions came from the income tax on persons and corporations; 55 millions from the tax on the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits, fermented liquor and tobacco; 127¼ millions from the tax on manufactures and products; 15 millions from the stamp taxes on documents, proprietary medicines, etc.; 14 millions from the special taxes on occupations; 4 millions from sales at auction and by brokers, etc.; 1¼ millions from legacies and successions; 11 millions from gross receipts of railroad, express, ferry, insurance and telegraph companies, etc.; 1¼ millions from plate, carriages, pianos, billiard tables, etc.; and 3¼ millions from bank circulation, slaughtered animals, etc.

This great annual revenue—nearly three times the per capita revenue of the national government in the ten years preceding the Spanish war, and more than twice that now being raised for both peace and war uses—was secured with much less sacrifice on the part of the taxpayers than might naturally have been expected, although the duties on many imported crude articles and foods not produced in this country, transferred from the free to

the dutiable list to secure additional revenue from customs, and the internal tax on nearly all manufactured and other products, often duplicated, seriously burdened the industries of the country, until they were repealed between 1868 and 1883.

Our experience, in the last years of our civil war and for a few years thereafter, with internal taxes on manufactures and products was so unfavorable that it is doubtful if they will be hereafter resorted to unless in a great extremity, except in the case of luxuries or articles of voluntary use.

Without imposing internal taxes on production beyond the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits, fermented liquors and tobacco, it is feasible to raise by import duties and by excise taxes limited to these three sources, supplemented by existing miscellaneous receipts, a revenue of \$6 per capita, which is \$1 per capita more than the average peace expenditures of the past ten years.

Excise taxes on distilled spirits, fermented liquors, tobacco, snuff, cigars and cigarettes, and special taxes on dealers in liquors (permanent since 1861), have become one of the most important sources of revenue in all civilized countries. Such taxes are easily collected, at the minimum of cost, by a permanent and experienced internal revenue bureau; the revenue from them is less liable to fall off in times of business depression; they are taxes which need not be incurred at all, or only at the convenience of the taxpayer; and so far as they fall on industries or business, they affect those less disturbed than others by unfavorable industrial conditions.

It was for these reasons, among others, that when the Spanish war came upon us in April, 1898, in order to provide means to carry it on (the revenue at that time, under the legislation of 1897, being sufficient to meet peace expenditures), Congress doubled the low excise tax on fermented liquors and tobacco—the tax on distilled spirits already being as large as could be collected—thus increasing the revenue by fifty millions from these two sources, and restored about two-thirds of the adhesive stamp tax of 1865 on documents and medicinal, proprietary and trademark articles, and on cosmetics and perfumery, estimated to yield about 40 millions, as well as the special taxes on bankers, brokers, etc., and legacy and succession duties—additional taxes which in the aggregate will yield the present fiscal year about 100 millions.

Whenever the extraordinary expenditures arising from the

Spanish war will admit of a repeal of any of the additional taxes imposed by the War-revenue act of 1898, it is probable that the first to be dispensed with will be a part or all of the adhesive stamp taxes, as they are in many respects annoying and in some cases burdensome.

The excise taxes on spirits, fermented liquors and tobacco, as they stand now, will produce, it is estimated, 220 millions in the next fiscal year; other internal revenue taxes, outside the adhesive stamp tax, about 20 millions, miscellaneous sources (the receipts from sales of public lands having dwindled to a paltry sum) 20 millions, and customs duties, 205 millions—an aggregate, outside the adhesive stamp taxes, of 465 millions, or \$6 per capita. If all the adhesive stamp taxes should remain, it is estimated that the aggregate revenue would be increased to 510 millions, or \$6.50 per capita.

As the peace expenditures, on the basis of the expenditures of the ten years before the opening of the Spanish war, were about \$5 per capita (\$2.50 for the ordinary civil, military and naval establishments and \$2.50 for pensions and interest on the war debt, which basis would give a total of 385 millions as the peace expenditures for the next fiscal year), it will be seen that there would be a balance of nearly 125 millions, in case all the war taxes should remain, to meet the extraordinary expenditures arising from the war, including the increase of the navy and army, and to apply to a reduction of the war debt.

No discussion of the sources of national revenue can be satisfactory, which does not take into consideration the possible effect of the rapid multiplication and enlargement of our domestic industries in diminishing our imports of manufactured articles, and consequently our revenue from imports of such articles. Indeed, it is one of the objections to the protective tariff policy that it tends—in fact, that is its object—to encourage the manufacture and production at home of such articles as can be made or produced here without natural disadvantage, instead of importing them from abroad.

It is not my purpose to enter into any discussion of the tariff beyond what is required by my topic, which confines me to the question of revenue; and to this extent I may go without trenching on the field of partisan debate.

Theoretically, it would seem to be probable, if not unavoidable,

that, the more we produce or make at home of articles similar to what we formerly entirely or mainly imported from abroad, the smaller would be our aggregate revenue per capita from imports; and, consequently, that it might be expected that a tariff adjusted so as to encourage home industries would impair revenue to the extent to which it accomplished its purpose.

But practically this has not been the result thus far, although it is easy to see that the sudden introduction into the Union of tropical countries capable of producing all our consumption of sugar, for example, might disturb all calculations.

The revenue from customs in 1790 (when we had few manufacturing industries in this country) was \$1 per capita; in 1810 it was \$1.10; in 1820 it was \$1.75; in 1830 it was \$1.75; in 1840 it was \$1; in 1850 it was \$1.75; in 1860 it was \$1.80; in 1870 (with the war tariff) it was \$5; in 1880 (the year after the resumption of specie payments) it was \$3.50; in 1890 it was \$3.50; in 1895 (tariff in 1894) it was \$2.18; and in the present fiscal year (tariff of 1897) it will exceed \$2.50 per capita.

If one were disposed to accept bald statistics as the whole truth rather than a part of the truth, he might point to these suggestive official figures as a demonstration that more revenue is secured by protective than by so-called revenue-only tariffs.

But this is not the scientific conclusion that the careful student of all the facts will draw. He will conclude, and without successful contradiction, that the largest revenue from customs is always yielded when all our people are at work, when prosperity reigns in all parts of our country, and consequently when our consumers have the most to buy with.

He will also conclude that, so far as tariff legislation may have an influence on the prosperity of the country, that which tends to open up the largest opportunities for our own people to use their own labor to the best advantage, and produce or make at home what can be made here without natural disadvantage, inevitably gives them the greatest prosperity and the largest purchasing power; and that, when our people have the largest purchasing power, they always purchase not only more of our own products but also more of the products of other countries not produced here, and especially more of the luxuries of foreign countries, which the well-to-do will always seek in proportion to their income.

It is in conformity with these observed facts that the tariff of

1897 has yielded more revenue from customs alone, and millions more revenue from customs, internal revenue and other sources (outside of war revenue) in the calendar year just closed—notwithstanding the unfavorable effect of the Spanish war—than was yielded in the last calendar year (1896), when the tariff of 1894 was in operation, unaffected by either anticipatory or deferred importations.

While the Constitution practically restricts the national government to indirect taxation—duties on imports and excises—and, therefore, makes the discussion here or elsewhere of the question as to whether direct taxation on property is not fairer and wiser, an academic rather than a useful exercise, yet the universal use of such indirect taxes, even by nations which have no limitations on their taxing power, indicates that they have been justified by experience.

Duties on imports, as a source of national revenue, are justified not only by the fact that they are generally taxes ultimately paid at the convenience of the taxpayer, without the solicitation of the tax collector; but also by the fact, known to business men, that, although they are in form a tax on consumption, yet in fact the duty paid the government on an imported article is rarely added in full to the price when a similar article is produced or made here, and frequently added only in part when a similar article is not produced or made here.

Theoretically, it might have been affirmed, without contradiction, that the placing of a duty of ten cents per pound on tea at the last session of Congress would have increased the price of tea to the consumer in this country ten cents per pound; yet the wholesale prices current show that tea has risen only 5 cents per pound. The foreign producer and importer are practically paying one-half the duty, in order to hold their customers; and the consumer pays only half. Absurd as it may seem to the theorist, the foreigner is paying half of the \$10,000,000 annual estimated revenue from the duty on tea.

There is another beneficial revenue result of a tariff adjusted on the policy of imposing high duties on imported luxuries or articles of voluntary consumption, low duties or no duties at all on articles of necessary consumption not produced or made here, and protective duties, equal to the difference of cost of production or manufacture here and abroad, on articles that may be produced

or made here without natural disadvantage, which should not be overlooked; and this is, that a large part of the revenue under such a tariff policy is paid on imported luxuries and articles of voluntary consumption by those well able to pay the high duties, and very little or none on such articles as are required by the masses of the people.

At least 100 millions of the 200 millions of revenue that will be yielded by the duties on imports in this calendar year will come from such articles as champagnes, wines, tobacco, opium, laces, kid gloves, silks, fine linens, fine cottons, fine woollens, chinaware, cut glass, and articles of adornment, and, so far as they are a charge on our people, will be paid almost entirely by consumers of ample means.

It is not within the scope of my subject to discuss the controverted effect of duties on imported articles of general consumption, the like of which are or may be made or produced here to the extent of our wants without natural disadvantage—whether, as the free-trader claims, such duties permanently increase the cost of such articles to the consumer to the extent of the duty without material advantage to the revenue; or, as the protectionist claims, the ultimate result of such duties is to cheapen their cost to the consumer by the competition set in motion through the establishment and development of the industry in this country (although the temporary result may be otherwise), and also to swell the revenue through the increase of the ability of the people to consume imported luxuries and articles not produced here, as the opportunities to profitably use their labor multiply.

I must confess that the longer I live and observe, the more I come to feel that the highest statesmanship is marked not by vain endeavors to adjust the operations of government to bald theories, which, however sound in an ideal state, are subject to many modifications in the actual and varying conditions that confront the legislator and administrator; but by the skill with which the executive and the law-maker from time to time adapt legislation and administration to meet and, as rapidly as may be, improve existing conditions, holding constantly in mind that “an ounce of experience is worth more than a ton of theory;” and that what practically works well in any country is more likely to be safe and wise than any theories, however fine-spun, that have not succeeded in like conditions.

Tried by the test of experience, whether in its revenue-producing qualities, its influence on our export trade, or its influence on the general prosperity of the country, I am sure that the present tariff policy, as it existed from 1861 to 1894, and as it has existed since 1897—modified from time to time to meet changing conditions—is justified by its fruits.

If I mistake not, the business men of the country, who have seen the unfavorable effect of frequent tariff changes, whatever may be their belief as to tariff policy, have come to the conclusion that tariff repose for the present and near future, is indispensable to the best interests of the country.

It may be safely affirmed that no other nation raises its revenue for national purposes in a manner which, on the whole, works out fairer or less burdensome results than are worked out by our system of taxation under the Constitution. I do not wish to be understood as affirming that any of our revenue legislation cannot be improved in details under the enlightenment of actual administration; and especially I do not desire to be understood as saying that the War Revenue act, particularly those provisions imposing stamp and special taxes intended as a temporary measure, and necessarily subject to the correction of experience under existing conditions, cannot and should not be readjusted in many directions according to the suggestions of such experience, whenever this can best be done, if it shall seem probable that these taxes must all continue much beyond the fiscal year in order to provide means to meet the extraordinary expenditures arising from the war.

Although the expenditures of our national government have been largely increased per capita since the adoption of the Constitution, and especially by the gigantic war for the preservation of the Union—rising from \$1 per capita in 1790 to nearly \$2 in 1820, \$2.25 in 1850, \$2.50 for ordinary and \$4.50 for war expenditures in 1870, and \$2.50 for ordinary and \$2.50 for pensions and war debt interest in 1890 and 1897—yet, even with an increase for the time being of taxes equivalent to \$1.50 per annum on account of the Spanish war, our taxation to-day is only at the rate of \$6.50 per capita—\$2.50 for the ordinary civil, military and naval establishments, \$2.50 for pensions and interest on the war debt, and \$1.50 for the Spanish war—while the similar national taxation of the United Kingdom and of Germany is, each, \$10 per capita, and of France \$15 per capita.

While it is impossible to forecast the future of our Republic, yet it is not difficult to see that, whether we desire it or not, we have entered upon a new era, in which the world recognizes that the United States has become one of the Great Powers, whose influence is to be second to that of no other power for weal or for woe; and that this position in the family of nations will impose upon us, not simply increased expenses requiring an enlarged revenue, but also an increased responsibility.

NELSON DINGLEY, JR.

A REPUBLIC IN THE PHILIPPINES.

BY THE HON. W. A. PEFFER, LATE U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS.

IF we are a Christian people believing in destiny, we must regard the war of 1861-65 as pivotal in our national career. The preservation of the Union and the enforcement of the laws of the country made possible all of the marvellous changes that have been wrought among us since that time. Our population is now two-and-a-half times as great as it was then; we have increased our working power threefold, and have added three hundred per cent. to the nation's wealth; we have constructed 150,000 miles of new railroad, more than half of it in the region west of the Mississippi River, and we have formed six east-and-west transcontinental lines connecting with ocean steamships at both ends.

The rapid development of our industrial energies naturally increased our mechanical power greatly in excess of the country's needs, and correspondingly diminished the demand for labor, resulting in idleness, debt and doubt. Hence came the "army of the unemployed" and the exciting campaign of 1896. Fortunately, the unusually large foreign demand for our agricultural products in 1897 was accompanied by heavy crops and good prices at home, begetting hope, stimulating industry, and creating demand for labor. The large majority vote at the election indicated plainly the trend of public opinion on the money question, while the enormous increase in the output of the gold mines measurably at least, and for the time, supplied the demand for metallic money; business revived, trade began again to flow in its accustomed channels, money appeared to be plenty, and the country got on its feet again.

But this condition could not last long under the old *régime* without some outlet for the surplus of the things we have to spare. We should overflow again. Panics have been periodical.

The causes which brought dangers to our doors—dangers arising from lack of employment for the people—would bring them again if new channels of trade were not opened, new markets found for our growing commerce, and new employment procured to engage the brains and hands of our industrious and enterprising people.

Providentially, as it would seem, the war with Spain affords us opportunities of which we have but to avail ourselves in order to relieve the situation at home and improve conditions abroad. With Cuba on the way to independence under American escort, with Porto Rico controlled by American ideas and policies, and with the beginnings of a Philippine republic in charge of American builders, a new commercial tide will set in, carrying a reciprocal trade that will occupy much of the time and attention of our citizens and will to that extent relieve the strain on the working forces; it will solve the money problem to the satisfaction of those at least who demand the use of a metallic basis, for it will enlarge the use of gold and silver coin; it will suggest profitable uses for large amounts of money now idle and seeking opportunities for safe investment, and, what is better than all these, it will place and keep Americans in the lead planting republican institutions in the islands of the sea.

And we are well equipped for just such work as this. We are full with the vitalizing forces of a young and powerful people, with motive power far beyond our necessities, with production vastly in excess of home requirements, with narrow profit margins multiplying industrial combinations to maintain prices, with constantly increasing production of our gold mines and idle money accumulating in the public treasury and in private bank vaults, with much of our labor compulsorily idle all the time and demanding work, with our best lands all claimed under private ownership—with all this congested energy, backed as it is by men and women capable of leading great enterprises, persons specially qualified by training in their own country to sow the seeds of democracy and grow republics in darker portions of the earth—we are prepared to assume the responsibility.

In our moral and intellectual equipment for the work proposed we are, if possible, stronger and better prepared than in the particulars just recited. The improvement in the condition of our manumitted slaves and their descendants has been phenomenal. They have developed men of learning and character—

physicians, lawyers, preachers, priests and bishops. While the great body of them are employed chiefly in manual labor (which is true also of their white neighbors), there are among them many who are capable of discharging responsible duties in affairs of government. Their soldierly qualities were recognized in the War of the Rebellion, and they were severely tested in recent battles and campaigns. These docile people are even now prepared to furnish useful helpers in all the work which the nation has yet to do.

The Indian problem has been solved, and we shall have the red man's aid in the years to come. It is only sixty-four years since all of our national territory west of the Mississippi River, except Missouri and Arkansas, was set apart by act of Congress as the "Indian country," and no citizen of the United States was permitted to travel or trade there without written authority from the Government. Since 1860 nearly all this fruitful region has been carved into States. The "Indian country" has disappeared. The small remnant in Indian Territory is being allotted, and soon it will be all owned by individual persons. The five civilized tribes there have among them many men and women of education and refinement, some of them qualified for any of the ordinary work of legislation and government. The few remaining of the more savage tribes are located on reservations in States or Territories, where schools have been established for the education of their children, and at several places in the older States government schools of higher grade are conducted, where the best scholars from the reservations may continue and complete a special training to fit them for the more responsible duties of civilized life. The Indian has already proven himself capable of reaching a high level and of maintaining himself in trying positions. He, too, is ready to perform his part in the country's future.

Woman has come to be an important factor in all the work of the time. From a few of the widows and daughters of our citizen soldiers, employed as clerks in the Treasury Department at Washington during the earlier years of the sixties, the working sphere of woman has been so enlarged that she is now found in all the departments of the national and State governments; she assists in public offices in all our great cities, and there is not, probably, a mercantile house of importance in the country conducted without the aid of women. They have invaded the professions, they occupy chairs in some of our higher institutions of

learning, and they compose two-thirds of the teachers in the public schools. Women now manage the business affairs of large bodies composed wholly of their own sex—notably the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Woman's Relief Corps, the latter having a membership of upward of 145,000. Women do now lead in many of the reform movements of the day. In some of the States they are legal electors and hold public offices. As workers in the missionary field their zeal is none in advance of their fitness and capacity. Man's truest and safest counsellor is now ready to carry the lamp of Christian civilization forward, and aid in working out the troublesome experiments in the years ahead of us.

Still another and the most powerful factor in the situation is the unification of the country's citizenship. We were never one before the year 1898. We had *tories* among us, even at the end of our successful war for political independence. We were divided in the war of 1812; we were not united during the war with Mexico, and it required the raising and equipping of armies and fleets in 1861-5 and four years of desperate war to prevent a separation of eleven States from the Union. But the war of 1898 afforded opportunity to try the Americanism of the people. The official record of their conduct certifies to their unswerving loyalty. The prompt response of all classes—rich, poor, high, low, white, black, mulatto, red and yellow, male and female, from North, East, South and West, the “Johnny and the Yank,” the plutocrat and populist—to the President's call for volunteers, testified to the universal patriotism of the citizens; and their blood, shed in actual battle on land and sea, dissolved the colors of blue and gray into red, white and blue in witness of the covenant that the people of these United States constitute a nation—one undivided, indivisible Union—with one flag and one destiny.

Here, then, in addition to the united forces of men usually considered in estimating a nation's strength, we have the children of the slave to help us in all we have to do; we have the educated Indian in our ranks, and we have beside us for inspiration and counsel the incomparable American woman—all together a mighty people with 15,000,000 men of military age capable of bearing arms, and quite as large a number of young persons enrolled in the public schools. When such a people enter new fields to reproduce their own wonderful history and duplicate their

own progressive institutions, surely the world's redeeming agencies will be strongly re-enforced.

In this condition of readiness for united action, we find ourselves suddenly face to face with new and grave conditions affecting our relations with other parts of the world, and we see plainly enough that our political horizon has been greatly enlarged. We have been forced into the world's arena by events occurring outside ourselves, and we must perform the leading part. There is no escape from this position. We have entered a new era in American politics, not from choice, but "in the course of human events."

It has been the way in all the ages of the past that when any people became cramped or thought themselves so, the bolder of them sought new regions to dwell in and thus opened a drain for the overflow. The history of all great countries, as far as it has been recorded, testifies to this fact—they were first settled, perhaps conquered, by emigrants from other parts, and commerce spread its civilizing influences in the wake of the settlers. The pioneer, the preacher, the trader, the merchant, the banker, the lawyer, statesman and soldier, builded modern Europe, and their children have made North America what it is. Australasia, India and South Africa show the rich handiwork of these conquering heroes. The history of civilization in England includes a record of principal movements everywhere else. Her colonies have developed into the highest forms of self-governing communities, one of them a republic whose name, like that of Abou Ben Adhem, leads all the rest.

If anything can be said to be established in the Father's business of improving the world, it is that the best communities, states and nations are bred from imported stock and improved by the infusion of new blood. To "replenish the earth and subdue it" requires that stronger and better men should "go out into all the world," and do and teach better things than had been done and taught there before. Blindly, it may be, but none the less certainly, in the long run, do men follow this law of progress. Proof of the great fact is everywhere so abundant that particular instances need not be cited. Barbarism passes out of sight as Christian settlement comes into view. The worse yields to the better in the final conflict. The weaker gives way to the stronger, through assimilation or decay. Obedience to this law of civiliza-

tion, though most frequently yielded ignorantly, becomes a duty when the obligation is recognized. Men are to a great extent their brothers' keepers and owe them a brotherly oversight. If this be not true, why is government necessary?

It is the duty of this republic, now that opportunity is present, to enter the Philippines and grow a new nation there. It is no answer to this to say that there are yet untouched resources at home, enough work here at our doors to occupy the time and attention of our most competent leaders. No answer because, if for no other reason, we cannot undo what was done during the last year. A great war has been fought, and we find ourselves in military occupation of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine group. The latter we have to dispose of. We, therefore, are responsible for the kind of government which these islands have in the future and will accordingly be held accountable.

We are a Christian people, believing in the existence of an overruling Providence, who, in His own way and time, moves the world ahead. History, in that view of it, is a record of Jehovah's operations in developing human character and evangelizing the earth. "Nations and individuals," said a fervent clergyman recently, "are here by appointment;" and it is on that theory only that we dare believe the people of these United States have been trained for the work now in front of them. The Jews undertook to abolish idolatry, establish a belief in one God and the duty of obeying His law. "I am the Lord thy God: Thou shalt have none other gods but me. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them." The Greeks taught the world how to think and how to speak, and Romans led in government and law. Is it too much to add that to Anglo-Americans is given the work of spreading the Gospel of good will to men through commerce and Christianity, and thus carrying on the work of replenishing the earth and subduing it? If not, then let us take and permanently hold all territory which has come into our possession, either actually or constructively, by reason of our war with Spain; hold it, not for ourselves, but for the people now there and such as may hereafter go there, to the end that the area of liberty may be to that extent enlarged and free government established throughout the earth.

It is objected that the proposed expansion policy is contrary to our own history and in conflict with the Monroe Doctrine. It is neither, and if it were both, the argument is without force. Applied generally, such a theory would prevent change and therefore stop growth. Our patent laws would be repealed, and inventors imprisoned. If a man was once satisfied with ten acres of land, he must never get more. Before we were fifteen years old we added more than a million square miles to our national area by the purchase of Louisiana—nearly all of which lay west of the Mississippi River, and this in the face of opposition by men who insisted that that stream was and ought to remain our western boundary. Afterward (1819) we acquired Florida, adding 59,268 square miles more, and by the annexation of Texas (1845), 376,133 additional square miles. From Mexico (1848-1853) we gained nearly a million (967,451) square miles, much the greater part of it being west of the Rocky Mountains, which range many positive objectors thought ought to be made our permanent western border. Including Alaska, our country now contains nearly four times the aggregate area of the original thirteen States, which is put at 827,844 square miles.

Our Government had been negotiating for the Sandwich Islands fifty years before they were annexed in 1898 under the name Hawaii. Cuba has been a point of interest to us for a long time. Its strategic importance was discussed by our statesmen in the early years of the century; the subject was again considered during the progress of the Spanish-American wars, and later, while John Quincy Adams was President. The Polk Administration was ready to buy the island outright, and President Pierce opened direct negotiations with that view. Our ministers to Great Britain, France and Spain (1854), Messrs. Buchanan, Mason and Soulé, who had been instructed to consider the subject, reported favorably in their famous "Ostend Manifesto." The Government of the United States would not at any time have permitted Cuba to pass from Spain to any nation, other than this, without a war. President Grant recommended the purchase of Santo Domingo. There has not been a time within a hundred years when we would not gladly have accepted any one of the principal islands of the West Indies that was ready to fall to us.

The Monroe Doctrine is not applicable in the present case. That doctrine was announced at a particular time (1823), under

peculiar circumstances, and for a particular purpose, all of which have long since passed away. Spain's South American provinces, Central America and Mexico, had all declared their independence of the mother country and had been duly acknowledged by the United States as independent nations. The "allied powers" of Europe were discussing a proposition to assist Spain in recovering her lost dependencies in the Western hemisphere, when Russia proposed to Great Britain and the United States an amicable adjustment of the boundary lines of territory in the northwest part of North America—territory in which all of these three countries were interested, and President Monroe availed himself of this circumstance to declare, in his formal message to Congress, Dec. 2, 1823, "as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers," and "that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

That is the Monroe Doctrine; it is simply an official statement that the people of the United States will not allow any such interference with independent American nations by European powers as would amount to extending their "political system" in the Western hemisphere, or to "oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny." Summarized, the Monroe Doctrine is notice to European powers that, while they might keep and control what possessions they then had in North and South America, they must not further interfere in "this hemisphere." It has no relation to acquisitions of territory on our part or to its government, here or elsewhere, and the proposed expansion policy is wholly our own. We, and not they, are the actors in this case.

Nor does General Washington's advice about entangling alliances apply. And the suggestion that to expand our territory, as proposed, is in violation of the Constitution of the United States, is equally untenable. We are not proposing to interfere with the affairs of any foreign power, except only that one against which Congress unanimously declared war last April, and voted all the men, money and munitions necessary to prosecute the

war to a successful issue. Our war is with Spain only, and we are dealing with Spain in a region distant, across water, five hundred miles from the nearest dependency of any European power, and three thousand miles from the eastern boundary line of Europe. No government other than that of Spain has claimed or does now claim any interest or right in these Spanish islands.

What the Constitution of the United States prohibits, that we must not do without first amending that instrument, but what the Constitution does not prohibit, the people of the United States may do if they so desire and have the power. On this subject the power of the people has not been limited by anything they have said or done. The Constitution prescribes a form of government and contains grants and limitations of power, but it does not define or limit the war power beyond the declaration of war. When war is once begun, it is to be conducted and terminated according to the rules of war, and these are regulated by an international code. The Constitution prescribes a form of government, not a rule of action in adjusting terms of peace with a nation that we have defeated in war. And in doubtful cases the Constitution always gracefully yields to the popular will. This war was not begun for conquest, but Dewey's guns awakened the world, and with the destruction of Montojo's fleet at Manila, Spanish power in the Philippines was ended, and American seamen were left in charge.

The argument that we have no right to the islands is answered by the statement that our right is at least as good as that of Spain, and now that Spain has ceded to us the whole group, the only question left worth considering is, whether it will be better for the people there and for the advancement of Christian civilization and popular government that we retain possession of the islands and hold them in trust for the people, or that we shall withdraw and thus leave the inhabitants a prey to ambitious leaders, subject at any time to invasion, pillage and conquest from the outside.

Porto Rico is held by us without conditions, and that, too, with the hearty approval of all the people of the United States; yet this was not contemplated in the beginning. The island is not taken as indemnity, it is held without assignment of reasons. And, pray, what argument in favor of our taking and holding Porto Rico will not apply with equal force to the case of Luzon and

the rest of the Philippines? The Porto Ricans were not in rebellion against Spanish rule—they rather liked it; they had not asked us for sympathy or assistance, nor had they appealed to us for provisions to feed their starving poor. Why, then, should we take that island if we may not also take Luzon? And if we may take Luzon, why not another, and another, until we have relieved Spain of all further responsibility as sovereign in that part of the world?

If it be asked by what right or authority we shall undertake the task of temporary government in the Philippines, we may cite the power that led us conquering from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate. In the colonization of North America by European powers, if we except Spain, the object was not conquest; it was trade. The British navigation act was passed, within thirty years after settlement was actually begun by the colony at Massachusetts Bay. Though not undertaken for conquest, the settlement and ownership of the continent by white people is now complete. The Indian has ceased to be a factor. Can anybody imagine how it could have been otherwise? And is not such the history of civilization—the weaker giving way to the stronger—survival of the fittest? First, the explorer and the missionary, then the trapper and hunter, then the settler, and afterwards government, which is the beginning of dominion. And, dear reader, have you ever thought about how many such worlds as this would be required to support 1,500,000,000 savages who need a thousand acres of land apiece to live on, while the enlightened citizen needs but one? God must have intended that savage life and customs should yield to higher standards of living, or he would have made the earth many times larger.

The right of migration, if it be a right, justifies the planting of colonies, and all that follows must be regarded as matters of course. The theory which excuses the settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth covers the whole ground. The Puritans began their work on shipboard by agreeing among themselves to form a colony and abide by such rules and regulations for their conduct and government as should be deemed necessary for the general good. They took no thought of the Indian or his welfare, though they asked God's blessing on themselves. Their arrangements were made for their own safety and happiness, and not for the comfort or convenience of the Indians. Their intercourse

with the red men was commercial. Trade with the savage conquered him.

Who denies the missionary's right to go to the heathen's territory and conquer him by telling of the Prince of Peace and His Kingdom? And who would stay the Government's arm when raised to protect a preacher from the savage's assault? If the preacher may go where he will and teach a new and better doctrine, why may not his Christian neighbors and followers, the farmer, merchant and mechanic, go also? Why may not the man that carries the Bible be accompanied by others carrying plows, planes, anvils, looms and steam engines? Our missionaries went to the Sandwich Islands in 1820; five years later the Ten Commandments were adopted as the laws of the people, and now the islands form the American Territory of Hawaii.

Preparatory government in the Philippine Islands will be no more difficult or dangerous than it was in territories of the United States, and there has not been a day in this country, within a hundred and fifty years, when there was any halt in our progress or any doubt about our final success. Our experience has been a school in the arts of conquering savages without exterminating them by war. Occupation and settlement of this country has produced a class of brave, big-hearted men and women, fit for any emergency. We now have men by the thousand who graduated on the frontier, and who could take up the thread of government among a semi-barbarous people as readily as they would lay out a town site or grade a railway line. Developing, constructing, trading, improving, are our special lines of work. We could throw an army of civilizers into the Eastern Pacific regions as easily as we can send an army of soldiers to Cuba.

Legitimate trade the world over must some time be free—absolutely free—and that condition will come when commerce reaches all parts of the earth, and the religion of good will is everywhere established. Nothing now would add greater momentum to the movement in that direction than the building of a republic by Americans, after the American model, in the Philippine Archipelago, for it would tend to multiply trade marts among the nations, it would encourage the project to merge war into peace, it would raise the standard of international law and lift the world's politics to a higher level.

W. A. PEPPER.

THE OPPOSITION TO RAILWAY POOLING.

BY H. T. NEWCOMB.

EVER since the passage of the act to regulate commerce, popularly denominated the Interstate Commerce law, there has been a continuous though unsuccessful effort to secure, by Congressional enactment, the substitution of provisions for the legal recognition and Federal supervision of railway pools for the absolute prohibition of such arrangements contained in that statute. Railway owners and managers, during the period when the present law was under consideration in the National Legislature, protested vigorously, and with substantial unanimity, against the inclusion of the anti-pooling clause in the scheme of regulation adopted for the business of interstate railway transportation, and have continued with progressively increasing vehemence to assert the impracticability of affording adequate protection against unjust discrimination to railway patrons unless the revenues of railways that should be profitable are also protected against the losses that are certain to result from unrestrained and illegitimate competition of bankrupt lines and circuitous routes. They have contended, with apparently sincere and certainly plausible arguments, that such protection cannot be secured except through agreements for the division of the traffic or earnings of competing lines, and that in consequence of this fact any provision of law forbidding such agreements is radically inconsistent with other provisions prohibiting the preferential treatment of particular shippers or localities. Adopting these conclusions, though possibly with modifications and reservations not at all material to the present discussion, the proposition to amend the Interstate Commerce law so as to permit railway pooling, subject to suitable conditions of official supervision, has received the approval and endorsement of the present

chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission; of successive annual conventions of State Railroad Commissioners, of the National Board of Trade, of Judge Reagan, the author of the anti-pooling provision of the present law; of Senator Cullom, chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the United States Senate; of the present Speaker of the National House of Representatives, and of every intelligent and honest student of transportation.

Before examining the causes which have resulted in this surprising and unfortunate failure of the almost unanimous sentiment among the most enlightened portion of the public to secure a measure which it has consistently favored, it may be profitable to recapitulate the arguments from which has been reached the conclusion that the division of competitive traffic or the earnings therefrom among the various railways whose lines are available for its transportation, in proportions fixed by a common agreement, is, under present conditions, an absolutely essential element in any scheme for the mitigation of the evils of the present railway situation that can be satisfactorily successful.

The nature of the business of furnishing railway facilities is such that it can be competitive as to comparatively but few individuals, including those only who are located at or near points served by two or more independent railways. In its relation to all other individuals, and to all localities provided with less ample facilities for transportation, the railway corporation possesses a monopoly privilege, and, in the absence of effective legal restraint, its charges are limited, if at all, solely by the requirement imposed by enlightened self-interest that they shall not prevent the movement of traffic. In practice, this theoretical limitation is too frequently disregarded, and the rates prescribed are practically prohibitive. The most obvious examples of this are found in the region south of the Potomac and Ohio rivers, and east of the Mississippi river. The railways serving this section have formulated their rate schedules in accordance with a purpose, by them freely acknowledged and warmly defended, to foster the wholesale or jobbing business of certain cities, and to compel the residents of all other cities and towns to purchase their supplies in the favored cities, while restricting the sales of the merchants located in the places discriminated against to the goods necessary to supply the retail demand of their several localities.

Though competition among railways might, of course, be confined to the facilities for safe or rapid transportation offered by the different companies, it is usually carried on by means of offers to perform similar services for varying compensation. Its tendency is to reduce the charges for transportation between localities served by two or more carriers, while, at the same time, preserving the average rate of all charges by the maintenance of relatively unreasonable rates for the movement of non-competitive business. Serious discriminations against localities served by a single carrier are the natural and inevitable result. Even at the comparatively few points at which there is actual competition among independent and rival railways, the benefits of the contests for traffic are rarely distributed among the general public with even approximate equality. In consequence of the modern specialization of industrial functions, the larger interests at such points are usually, if not invariably, concentrated in a few lines of production. Considerations relating to the convenience of the railways, as well as to that of their patrons, naturally impel the former to provide special equipment for the transportation of the traffic supplied by such interests, and this, together with the magnitude of the business they furnish, renders it the especial object of whatever competition may occur. Under ordinary circumstances, competition among sellers finds expression in a series of offers to supply the particular commodity vended at varying prices, this series of offers finally resulting in a practically uniform price which approximates the cost of production of the last increment of supply for which there is an effective demand. Such offers are open to all, and do not vary with regard to the individual to whom they are made. Among railways, and it may parenthetically be noted, at times among highly centralized lines of production generally, such is not the ordinary course of competition. Open offers would speedily result in uniform charges, and traffic would seek the lines naturally best adapted to convey each particular shipment. Each line attempts, therefore, to keep secret its concessions to shippers, and, in order to do so, makes them to particular patrons only. Hence arise unjust discriminations, upon which are built up extortionate profits, and finally enormous industrial combinations, which in turn are able effectively to demand favors in the adjustment of railway charges and to dictate the terms upon which they will purchase transportation. No one has better ex-

pressed these facts than Hon. Martin A. Knapp, the present chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In the course of one of the best studies of railway problems ever written, he said:

"The ultimate effect of preferential rates is to concentrate the commerce of the country in a few hands. The favored shipper, who is usually the large shipper, is furnished with a weapon against which skill, energy, and experience are alike unavailing. When the natural advantages of capital are augmented by exemptions from charges commonly imposed, it becomes powerful enough to force all rivals from the field. If we could unearth the secrets of these modern 'trusts,' whose surprising exploits excite such wide apprehension, we should find an explanation of their menacing growth in the systematic methods by which they have evaded the burdens of transportation. The reduced charges which they have obtained, sometimes by favoritism and oftener by force, account in great measure for the colossal gains which they have accumulated. This is the sleight of hand by which the marvel has been produced, the key to the riddle which has amazed and alarmed the nation. If these combinations were deprived of special and exclusive rates there is little doubt that they would be shorn of their greatest strength and lose their dangerous supremacy. Indeed, I think it scarcely too much to say that no alliance of capital, no aggregation of productive forces, would prove of real, or at least permanent, advantage, if rigidly subjected to just and impartial charges for public transportation."

An effect similar to that of unjust discriminations among the patrons of a single line may be produced among those of competing railways if the rate schedules of the latter prescribe different charges for like and contemporaneous services. For example, if among two or more individuals who simultaneously ship equal quantities of the same commodity from the same place to the same destination, one secures the transportation at a lower aggregate cost, the commercial disadvantage resulting to the others is neither more nor less, whether the routes traversed by the various shipments are identical or otherwise. For similar reasons it is not of the least importance to the residents of a district competing with those of some other district for the privilege of supplying a particular community with some necessary product, whether the relatively unjust rate which deprives them of equality of opportunity in the market common to both is for a service performed by a line owned or operated by the corporation over whose railway the traffic from the unfairly favored locality must pass. It follows that it is essential to the equitable distribution of the aggregate cost of transportation, not only that particular railways charge similar rates for similar services, but that all railways or combinations of railways which offer to perform similar services

shall establish and collect therefor uniform rates and charges. Anything less than this necessarily involves unjust discriminations and ultimate demoralization of the industries dependent upon railway transportation. However the Interstate Commerce law may have failed to satisfy the expectations of its friends, its operation during twelve years has established beyond controversy the fact, that satisfactorily permanent uniformity in the rates exacted for traffic for which two or more railway routes are available, cannot be maintained without the aid of a system which provides a substantial incentive to adherence to agreements after they have been adopted. Such a system must substitute for the superficial spirit of rivalry and conflict, now too frequently prevalent among railway managers, a thorough appreciation of the identity of the corporate interests which they serve. As long as the ownership of the railway system continues to be distributed among a large number of legally separate corporations with different bodies of security holders, and their surplus revenues to be divided, in consequence, among distinct bodies of investors, the requisite harmonization of interests can be achieved, if at all, only by the division of all traffic for which two or more routes are, from a commercial standpoint, practically available among the carriers operating such routes, in stipulated proportions, according to contracts, the observance of which may be enforced by judicial process.

Though railway competition has not only failed to secure the public against unjust discriminations, but has actually fostered them, it is frequently contended that it has resulted in cheapening transportation, and popular approval of the regulation by which it is enforced has been sought as a consequence. Here a somewhat plausible affirmative argument can be made by the mere assumption, which will frequently pass unnoticed, that coincidence of time and place establish a relation as between cause and effect. Average charges for railway transportation are, per unit of distance, lower in the United States, especially for freight, than elsewhere in the world. The whole period of the development of railway facilities has been characterized by a downward movement in rates of fare and freight, which is one of its most salient features. Careful investigation of the incidents of this decline show clearly, however, that it is due to causes which are wholly extraneous to the railway system except in so far as the

enlightened perception on the part of those officials having charge of railways, that the future of such properties is invariably dependent upon the development of the territory contiguous and tributary to their lines, and that such development is largely dependent upon cheap transportation, can be considered an intrinsic cause. The genuine competition of trade, and not the *pseudo* competition of transportation, is the cause with which the decline in railway charges can be logically connected. Persistent and powerful pressure is constantly exerted to secure concessions in rates, in order to place particular producing regions upon a better footing in markets already reached, or to extend the areas which they can supply. Such concessions, however slight, may be sufficient to enable one region to monopolize a market formerly common to several, and thus lead to demands upon other carriers reaching the market from different directions. The sugar of Hawaii and that of Germany and Cuba find common markets in the United States, and whether the sale of one or both in large districts shall be profitable, or the reverse, is wholly a question of transportation rates. Salt from Michigan and Kansas meet in Iowa and other states on similar conditions, as do many other commodities in various portions of the country. Competing shippers in the same locality are constantly endeavoring to obtain more favorable rates than those accorded to their rivals, and though these may be, under present conditions, temporarily secret, they not infrequently lead to open reductions. The use of particular commodities is often limited territorially by the freight charges from the points of production to those of consumption, and when charges are too high on certain articles, substitutes produced nearer the points of consumption, or carried at lower freight rates, are frequently used. The charges for passenger transportation also, by limiting the distance which agents may profitably be sent or purchasers traverse, and otherwise hindering personal communication, effectively prescribe the limits of profitable interchange of commodities and interfere with the territorial division of labor. In consequence of these facts, the whole force of commercial competition, the most amazing and tremendous product of modern industrial and economic organization, is arrayed in a continuous effort to secure ever cheapening transportation. As a result, railway charges tend uninterruptedly toward the lowest rate that will produce a revenue sufficient in the aggregate to meet operat-

ing expenses, including necessary repairs and renewals, and, in addition, return to capital the lowest recompense for which it can be procured. As the latter is at any particular time a definite and ascertainable sum, it is evident that expenses of operation constitute the only controllable element. Here is found a barrier which legislative attempts to secure railway competition have erected against further reductions in charges being made possible by the inauguration of extensive economies in operation. There is thus imposed upon the public the burden of supporting, by rates otherwise unnecessarily high, this peculiar form of competition, that is profitable to no one, and, as has been shown, is the prolific parent of unjust discriminations. Some of the wasteful expenses incident to competition may be enumerated. Authentic statistics of the amounts paid by rival lines as commissions for securing business are very difficult to obtain, as the success of such practices depends very largely upon the degree of secrecy that it is possible to attain. The Interstate Commerce Commission was able to ascertain, however, that nine roads paid out an aggregate sum of more than one million dollars in a single year as commissions on passenger business alone. It is stated on reliable authority that as much as \$20.70 has been paid to secure a single second-class passenger from Chicago to San Francisco. The multitude of outside agencies and travelling agents, maintained solely for the purpose of securing business for their respective lines that might otherwise go by those of their competitors, involves an expenditure so great, even during periods of comparative harmony, that it has been necessary to restrict their numbers by contract. The agreement now in force limits to eight the number of these agencies that may be maintained in the city of New York by each of the nine roads competing for through west-bound traffic. As it is a fact of ordinary observation that such agencies invariably cluster in particular portions of the city, and around particular corners, it is obvious that under a system of joint agencies, the public could be accorded superior service at lower cost. During the too frequent periods of wholly unbridled competition, popularly denominated "rate-wars," each participating road has its freight and passenger agents in nearly every important city in the country, at a total expense for rents, clerk hire, advertising, etc., that must be enormous. Four roads operating westward from Chicago are known to have expended

over a million and a quarter dollars for outside agencies and advertising in a single year during which rates were fairly maintained, while during an equal period one road out of New York expended \$871,291 for similar purposes. The competition of long, circuitous, and otherwise excessively costly routes for traffic that would naturally traverse cheaper and more direct lines, is another gross extravagance too frequently observed. Between Omaha and St. Paul, with a short line distance of 373 miles, traffic is carried by a line 734 miles in length. From Chicago to New York, 21 routes—ranging from 912 to 1,376 miles—compete for traffic, while between Omaha and San Francisco there are five, of which the shortest is 1,865 and the longest 2,724 miles. Besides the numerous regular and “tramp” steamships available for shipments from New York to New Orleans, more than ninety all-rail lines are actively seeking to share in the business. The most direct of these is 1,340 miles in length, or 711 miles shorter than the longest. As an example of the waste of competitive train service, it is not necessary to add anything to the bare statement that forty-four trains leave Chicago each day for New York, and that similar duplication of service exists all over the country. No intelligent student of transportation doubts that whenever it becomes possible, by means of the adoption of wiser principles as the basis of regulative legislation, to eliminate from the cost of railway operation these economically useless and wasteful expenditures, the saving thus effected will accrue to the benefit of the general public, through the reductions in rates which will be then permitted to result from the action and interaction of the commercial forces hereinbefore described.

Having reviewed with some care the facts and arguments which, together with a knowledge of the present, though tentative, limits of possible legislation, imposed by intelligent conservatism, long ago caused enlightened public sentiment practically to crystallize in favor of the re-establishment, under suitable restrictions, of the pooling system, it will be of some utility to examine the obstacles that have so far prevented any effective legislative expression in accordance with that sentiment. Such an expression has been principally prevented by causes that may be classified and characterized as: (a) The unwarranted fears and too-strenuous conservatism of certain railway owners and managers; (b) the honest ignorance of a portion of the public and its legisla-

tive agents, and (c) the sophisticated dishonesty of those who are in a position to gain pecuniarily by the continuance of present conditions of railway rate-making. The causes in each class will be examined in order.

A limited number of railway owners and officials, it is believed, very reluctantly and only from a strong sense of duty to the public as well as to their own and their employers' interests, have interposed objections to legislation that would permit railway pooling, a thing which in itself they most earnestly desire, because all such legislative proposals have included provisions intended to strengthen the scheme of Federal railway regulation, which provisions the objectors consider to be framed, not only in derogation of the vested property rights of railway corporations, but so as to be inconsistent with the fundamental principles and inimical to the institutions of a democratic republic. The provisions to which exceptions are taken are, speaking generally, intended to make the Interstate Commerce law mean what the public supposed it to mean at the time of its enactment. They are intended to confer upon the Interstate Commerce Commission authority to prescribe reasonable maximum and (probably) minimum rates, to be applied to particular traffic after complaint regarding those promulgated by the carrier or carriers has been made, and followed by a formal investigation of which notice has been given to all interested parties, and at which such parties have been afforded ample opportunity to be represented by counsel and to present testimony. If adopted, substantial finality would be given to the findings of fact determined by the Commission as the result of its formal hearings, and judicial review of its proceedings would be limited to questions of law, though any court to which appeal may be taken would be permitted to remand any particular case to the Commission for further investigation of the facts. A modification of the fourth section, commonly known as the "long and short haul clause," has also been proposed, as has a grant of authority, similar to that exercised in England, to require the establishment of joint routes and the promulgation of through rates, and a considerable extension of the notice of changes in rates, which is now required. There are other changes of apparently minor importance, but it is to the first two enumerated above that there is most vehement opposition, and, as they are the only ones likely to be finally insisted upon by the friends

of the law, upon the validity of the objections to them must rest the wisdom of this particular form of antagonism to the proposed enactment. Without entering upon any discussion of the sufficiency of ordinary judicial processes to control the rate-making powers of railway officials, it may be declared, with confidence, that the people will not consent to be finally relegated to those processes for the redress of their real or fancied grievances against railway corporations. The Interstate Commerce law having practically failed to supplement, in a satisfactory manner, the means for relief previously available, it is impossible to believe that the people will cease to demand substantial supervision of interstate railways, or that Congress will acknowledge its impotence to exercise, in adequate measure, its Constitutional authority to regulate commerce among the several states. Though effective legislation may unquestionably be delayed, such action will scarcely abate the intensity of the public sentiment in its favor, nor mitigate its eventual rigor. The practical question for the most conservative owner or manager of railway property to decide is not whether the operation of the properties in his charge shall be subject to Federal regulation, but rather, what form such regulation shall assume. The latter is, as yet, an open question, and at the present time the influence of those in charge of such properties may have controlling force in determining the decision. Their advice, frankly, promptly, and ingenuously given, may be, it is even likely to be, heeded. But if it is too long deferred, if they struggle too obstinately or yield too grudgingly, they may see, not only the serious impairment of the property rights for the preservation of which they contend, but the inauguration also of experiments pregnant with danger to the Republic. The impracticability of attempts to regulate railway business by means of a commission being once definitely established, or, what to many may seem the same thing, its success so long postponed as to outwear the patience of the people, the next, the inevitable, and as true conservatives may discreetly fear, the unfortunate and irretrievable step, will be to the government ownership and operation of the railway facilities of the country. The alternative is not one that railway men should long hesitate to accept. Their traffic is not increased or their revenues permanently enhanced by restricting the interchange of commodities and the movement of commerce, but by encouraging the territorial division of labor and promot-

ing the development of the resources of the regions tributary to their respective lines. Their interests lie not only in dealing justly with the people and in seeking an adjustment of their charges that treats different and competing communities and citizens with both absolute and relative equity, but, also, in securing the most ample public confidence in the integrity of their intentions. Few will assert that the president, or the traffic manager, or other rate-making official of a particular road is the one individual certain to take the broadest and wisest view of the questions, not infrequently of vital public importance, which may arise in connection with the amount to be charged for almost any service that can be performed by the company for which he acts. The data in his possession may be meagre; he may be affected by acquired prejudices; or, though men of small ability are rarely prominent in railway business, his capacity may be moderate. While permitting him to act in the first instance, the endowment of the Interstate Commerce Commission, with the limited rate-making authority that has been suggested and to which the other proposed powers are mere adjuncts, would supplement his authority by that of a board of impartial and unbiased experts, whose function, in this particular, would be to review such of his conclusions as became the subject of complaint, and to arbitrate upon them between the railway corporation and the public, by whom the functions of the latter have been delegated. Such a board and the willingness of railway corporations to submit their rate-making power to its supervision would seemingly strengthen, in public estimation, the position of such corporations and create confidence in the substantial equity of their demands, or at least, in the uprightness of their intentions. It is exceedingly difficult to discover any valid objections to the creation of such a board of expert arbitrators which, when advanced by railway managers, are consistent with the belief that those who urge them do not desire to exact unreasonable compensation for the services they supply. They will not claim that by accepting such arbitration they would surrender any substantial power to determine their own charges, for the most enlightened of them have admitted have indeed founded able and convincing arguments upon the fact as a premise, that the exercise of the rate-making power nominally possessed by them is invariably subject to limitations imposed by commercial conditions wholly external to the railway system, and

against which they would vainly struggle to secure extortionate returns. While the legal restrictions now existing are continued, the rates on competitive traffic enjoyed by any particular carrier are also effectively controlled by their rivals and in constantly imminent danger of demoralization as the result of a struggle in which paramount advantage lies with the line whose bankruptcy has temporarily eliminated the necessity of earning interest upon its funded debt. For this situation railways and their patrons might well prefer to substitute an agency which would promote their mutual interests, by fixing all rates upon a basis reasonable alike to those who pay and to those who collect them.

Opposition arising from what has been called the honest ignorance of a portion of the public is rapidly disappearing, as a consequence of the liberal education resulting from the worse than failure of the anti-pooling clause of the Interstate Commerce law. Such opposition has been, principally, the consequence of the unreasoned popular prejudice against those combinations which are rather indefinitely grouped under the term "monopoly," as it is commonly applied, a prejudice resulting in a large degree from the acceptance as axiomatic of the maxim which declares that competition is the life of trade. Skilfully played upon by corrupt and selfish demagogues, the consequences of this prejudice include provisions of constitutional and statutory law, both national and state, which have retarded harmonious railway development, and seriously impaired the public services rendered by railway facilities. Under similar provocation it yet lingers in certain sections, a curious rather than a dangerous relic, of an unwholesome and evil force now nearly extinct. That the public will insist upon the permanent maintenance of a wasteful, extravagant and uneconomic competition among the various portions of what should be a thoroughly co-ordinated and harmonious railway system, when such competition has ceased to be more than a costly and baneful fetich, a justification of higher charges than would otherwise be required, and the prolific parent of unjust discriminations, is not to be believed.

The most powerful, and, in many respects, the most alarming opposition to railway pooling under any and all conditions, springs from the selfish interests of a class that is always keenly alive and intelligently active to take advantage of the slightest opportunity to secure increased profits. Attention has already, in this paper,

been directed to the importance, to the many large combinations of capital invested in industrial enterprises, of the unfair advantages in the charges for railway services which they have been able to obtain, in the words of the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, "sometimes by favoritism, but oftener by force." Under existing conditions of competition, they are able to secure such advantages by threatening to withdraw their patronage from any line the officials of which are obstinate in their refusals to make the concessions demanded. It is not necessary in every case actually to violate the letter of the Interstate Commerce law. Though rebating, making secret rates, underbilling, false weighing and similar practices are frequently resorted to, results equally satisfactory can often be secured by means of rate manipulations which do not involve the transgression of express statutory provisions. Early information of pending rate changes may be turned to considerable advantage when the difference in charges amounts to all, or nearly all (it is sometimes much more), of the possible profit on the commodities transported. Rates may be temporarily lowered while the large shipper is purchasing transportation, and advanced before his rivals can take advantage of them, or the former can wait until his competitor has shipped under high rates, serenely confident of the faithful execution of the promises he has obtained, that his own shipments will be forwarded promptly at greatly reduced rates of charge. The relation between rates on raw materials and their manufactured products are often of vital importance to large shippers as well as to their competitors. For example: Flour would not be manufactured in the Northwest for shipment to Eastern consumers if the rates for shipments of wheat were relatively much lower than those applied to flour, and the place at which cattle shall be slaughtered is determined in a very large measure by the differences between the charges for transporting cattle and their meat products. It has been frequently asserted that the adjustment of rates upon the latter pair of commodities from Chicago to the Atlantic seaboard has been dictated by a combination of capitalists engaged in the business of slaughtering cattle at Chicago, and their control of the rates on eastward bound shipments of dressed beef, which is a matter of public record, is understood to have been secured by means of a contract to concentrate upon a single line a definite quantity of traffic. Though it is usually

difficult to secure definite information regarding the practices by which illegal favors are granted, important facts concerning some of them have been made public through legislative and judicial investigations. Recalling the testimony of a railway official before the "Hepburn" committee of the New York Legislature that rebates were paid to Mr. A. T. Stewart in order to "build up and develop" his business, it will be of interest to cite some fragments of the evidence that shows in what manner the Standard Oil Company has attained its present mastery of the business in which it is engaged. A principal official of one of the leading trunk lines of the country testified, in 1879, that "we stated to the outside refiners that we would make lower rates to the Standard Oil Company than they got." Similarly, an official of one of the Pacific roads declared, during 1887, that the oil combination "from the time it acquired the oil business on this coast had lower rates than the general tariff provided, or than other shippers paid on coal oil." When an independent refiner at Marietta, Ohio, sought to compete with the Standard Oil Company, the rates charged for bringing crude petroleum to his refineries was placed at thirty-five cents per barrel, while his great competitor secured identical service for ten cents per barrel. This discrimination was forced from the railway by means of a threat on the part of the oil trust to construct a competing pipe line if it were refused, and if the social consequences of the application of such principles to railway rate-making were less serious would be rendered almost humorous by the additional fact, elicited in the course of judicial proceedings, that twenty-five cents of the thirty-five cents per barrel paid by the independent refiner to the railway corporation were by the latter transferred to the oil combination, as a further consideration for its refraining from the construction of a pipe line. The hopelessness of competition among producers under such conditions needs no comment, yet it is to secure such result that the aphorism "competition is the life of trade" is made a rule of action in legislative attempts to regulate the business of interstate transportation. No one would suppose that the beneficiaries of unjust discriminations would not seek to prevent an enactment that would make them more difficult or impossible to obtain, and we are not surprised therefore to find the trusts unanimously, though, so far as possible, secretly, working to prevent the legalization of railway pools. If separate

carriers could enter into agreements for the equitable division of competitive business and to secure the enforcement of such agreements could obtain the aid of the Federal courts, they could no longer be compelled to accept the business of even the strongest shipper or combinations of shippers upon terms dictated by the latter. Instead of independent and inharmonious corporations, each ready to become an agency to demoralize the traffic and earnings of the others, the railways of the United States would constitute a compact, homogeneous system, presenting, toward all shippers, an aspect of undeviating fairness and unyielding unity, not to be destroyed by the attacks of those whose selfish interests demand the perpetuation of the principal evils, the correction of which constitutes the main railway problem of the present time.

Current opposition to that form of railway pooling which constitutes the single essential preliminary to the railway reforms now most necessary is practically included within the classes enumerated. One may well hope that the belated ignorance which, in spite of the amplest evidence to the contrary, still insists that there can be genuine competition among railways, and that such competition has substantial regulative value, will soon cease to be an effective agency for the maintenance of conditions that result in unjust discriminations which are mainly beneficial to those whose efforts are directed toward the suppression of competition in trade, and that, after full consideration, railway owners and managers will perceive the wisdom of accepting, together with permission to make contracts for the division of their traffic, whatever degree of effective Federal regulation may be necessary to satisfy a reasonable public. When these things have been accomplished, the combinations of capitalists that destroy competition in trade and banish real individualism in industry, will have little power further to retard the most substantial step toward the solution of the problem of railway rates that has yet received general support, though their efforts to do so will no doubt be as secret, as vigorous, and as tireless as ever.

H. T. NEWCOMB.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

BY THE REV. J. P. JONES, D.D., MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD, AT MADURA, SOUTH INDIA.

THE history of England's contact with India during the last century and a half is the record of, perhaps, the most stupendous work accomplished by any nation in the progress of the human race.

The writer, an American citizen, has spent the last two decades amid the thrilling scenes of this work, has studied it with keen interest and has participated in its blessings. To one who has enjoyed, and is still enjoying, these privileges, the failure of many in the United States to appreciate this work of Great Britain, and their persistent determination to charge her with supreme selfishness and inhumanity in her Indian rule, seem inexplicable.

The writer holds no brief for the Anglo-Indian; nor is he ignorant of the weaknesses of that dignitary. But he is convinced that few men are doing a larger work, under adverse circumstances, for the progress of the human race than this same self-exiled Britisher among an alien race.

I.

To appreciate England's work in India one must realize its immense difficulty. Here, then, are about thirty-five million people, reaching across more than seven thousand miles of watery space to grasp a land which is more than twelve times the size of their home land, and half as large as the whole of the United States. Within this semi-continent, this foreign race exercises supreme power over a people eight times its own number—a population which embraces fully one-fifth of the inhabitants of the globe. Nor is this vast population homogeneous. It is the home of a large number of conflicting tribes and nations, speaking different

tongues and imbued with caste animosities and ancestral dissensions. The warlike Sikh, the defiant Pathan, the subtle and wily Mahratti, the suave and intellectual Baboo, the stolid and effeminate Dravidian, and the barbarous hill man—these and many other different races have to be yoked together in the great chariot of state—a relationship which they have never before sustained to each other.

Religiously, also, they are as diverse as possible. While three-fourths of all the people are Hindu in religion, it must not be forgotten that this remarkable faith, which unites its votaries together in some respects, in others, which are most vital to a secular government, it divides them into numberless mutually antagonistic sects which make united action all but impossible. And though the Hindus are far in the ascendant, so far as numbers are concerned, the Mohammedans, with their nearly sixty million souls (many more than are found in all the realm of the Turkish Sultan), and with their much more united front, religious bigotry and bold, unyielding spirit, are a source of more anxiety to, and are objects of more conciliation on the part of, the government than are all the other elements put together. Add to these the more than two and a half million Christians, and the fewer, but still multitudinous, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Parsees. Add again the nearly ten millions of Animists and fetish worshippers, and we are only at the beginning of the religious classification of this people.

To one who believes that, religiously, the teeming millions of this land are docile and tractable, it is only necessary to refer to the faith origin of the terrible mutiny of 1857. Even the stubborn war with the frontier tribes had more the character of a *jihad* than the government is willing to confess. Whatever may have been its origin, it was doubtless largely fed and maintained by the religious sentiments of those doughty hill tribe Mohammedans, who have been feeling for some time that Christianity is the mortal foe of their faith. Moreover, the notable state of uneasiness among the inhabitants, in view of government's well meant effort to stamp out the terrible plague which is infesting the land, is purely a matter of religion. The cry of the Sepoy Mutiny is again revived and government is charged with trying to destroy the souls of the people by the sanitary process of inoculation against the plague. It is not the first time that

sanitary precautions in this land have been pronounced the enemy of faith and the ruin of the soul. When superstition joins hands with dirt, to antagonize progress and health in an Oriental country, it is high time that the government prepare for a mighty struggle in behalf of its own safety. The recent riots and other manifestations of disloyalty in three of the leading cities of India testify to this, and add to the already numerous illustrations which the country affords that the rule of the East by the West is an exceedingly difficult and dangerous matter.

The striking contrast of type and character existing between the Anglo-Saxon and the Hindu, facilitates all sorts of misunderstanding between them, and aids perceptibly in making the path of the British Raj a very thorny one in the land. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find two peoples who are farther removed from each other in temperament and training—whose natures and antecedents are more irreconcilable at all points. While the Anglo-Indian is bold, frank and just, even to brutality, the Hindu is subtle, affable, too practiced in dissimulation, with ready susceptibilities to temporize and to barter justice for expediency. On the one side, we see the Westerner haughty, unyielding and unwilling to conciliate; on the other we behold the Oriental willing to be trampled upon, when it seems necessary, and to smile with apparent gratitude under the process; but, withal, possessed of a large inheritance of ineradicable prejudices, which make a contact with his too domineering Western lord an unceasing trial to him. Perhaps the most marvelous thing about an Englishman in a foreign land, is his unwillingness to adapt himself to the people or the clime of his new habitation. He clings with tenacity to his home ideas and habits, as if they were of universal application. He adheres with rigid faithfulness to his ale, whiskey and beef in a tropical clime, when every rule of health cries aloud against them. An Englishman died not far from where the writer now lives. It was an unnatural death, and the natives of that region built a shrine in the jungle, near the place of his decease, and offered for years, in true sobriety, whiskey and cheroots to appease his thirsty and unsatisfied spirit. It is not strange that the native should recognize a continuity of spirit-taste in the here and the hereafter of the Sahib.

Another point at which the two races are antipodal is that of general aspect. The Britisher is a progressive to the core. He

only needs to be assured that a certain course is right and for the best interest of the community in order to adopt it. His face ever looks upward and his ambition is ever to go forward. But here he lives among a race whose chief divinity is custom, and the gist of whose decalogue is, "Hold fast to the past." As they approach a proposed enterprise their first and last question concerning it is not whether it is right and best, but whether it is in a line with the past, and would be approved by their ancestors. The whole country has been anchored for the last twenty-five centuries to a code of social laws and customs which are more unyielding than the laws of the Medes and Persians. Manu and his laws have thus been the curse of the ages to them. Among a people the chief ambition of whose young men is to be like their grandfathers, and where conservatism is the acme of piety and propriety, it is no wonder that, during the last century, all progress has been practically forced upon the country from without, and in the teeth of their most sacred institutions and their most earnest protestation and opposition.

It had doubtless been well for the Anglo-Indian in India, had he had an occasional eye for the excellences and prejudices of the Orient, and had he not been so cock sure of his supreme wisdom and unquestionable superiority in all points wherein he differed from the Hindu, and had he not so frequently trifled with the deepest sentiments and ridden roughshod over the dearest customs of the Hindu. But his experience has not been in vain, and he is not what he once was in this particular; even though this weakness is now regarded by the Hindu as the most serious complaint against him. At the same time, it must be confessed that a large compliance with the most deep rooted and universal customs and prejudices of the land would render an advanced and progressive government all but impossible.

Another of the serious embarrassments which stand ready to overwhelm any attempt at an able and effective rule in this land, is the deep poverty of the people.

"It is finance which lies at the base of every difficulty connected with our Indian Empire," is the sapient remark of Sir Charles Dilke. And at the base of the financial difficulty lies the penury of the people. Great Britain is not prepared to administer the affairs of state in India from the same motives as keep in operation its Christian missions—from a self-denying benevolence. Nor does

it seem that a much cheaper administration would be either good or economical. She must find a *quid pro quo*; and the large number of men of fine training, integrity and administrative power whom she sends out to this far off tropical land must be paid adequately, if not handsomely, for their toil, danger and exile. It is a very doubtful question whether, beyond a reduction in the army, and a lessening of the high salaries of native officials, England could safely bring down the expenses of its present *régime*. And yet it is true that the country is groaning under the burden, and can ill afford so expensive a government. It is a well known and lamentable fact that one-fifth of the whole population, say 60,000,000, or a total nearly equal the population of the United States, are insufficiently fed, even in ordinary years of prosperity. They are the ever ready prey of the first drought, distress or famine that may happen. It is a not uncommon experience of the ryot to retire at night upon an empty stomach.

It does not help, but rather aggravates, the situation to be told that most of this evil which the people bear is self-imposed. They reveal a combination of blind improvidence, reckless expenditure and an unwillingness to shake off impoverishing customs. For instance, the debt incurring propensity of the native is akin to insanity. Hardly a member of the community is free from debt. In fact, it is believed by the ordinary man here that a debt incurred is a true badge of respectability. All the poor people with whom the writer is acquainted are tied hand and foot to this terrible millstone. And the interest paid is crushing. An employee once told the writer of his terrible burdens. One was an interest of one rupee paid monthly on a sum of *Rs. 30, borrowed in distress. The interest had then been paid regularly for several years and was not considered an exceptional rate, neither, indeed, is it. The hereditary village money lender is a most rapacious and heartless Shylock. It is rare that a poor farmer who gets into his clutches escapes the dreadful bondage. It usually leads to the loss of all property and means of support. Under the ancient Hindu law, no money lender could recover interest on a loan beyond the amount of principal which he had advanced. Under the present rule he can recover to any amount, sell the tenant's crop, and even take possession of the land under a judgment decree. It is one of those instances where justice in law is made to admin-

* A rupee is nominally worth 40 cents but is actually worth only 30 cents.

ister to unrighteousness and cruelty in life. This evil certainly represents a present serious political danger. The extent may be realized from the statement of the last census report, that in Assam nearly 68 per cent., in the Northwest Provinces nearly 47 per cent., in the Central Provinces nearly 37 per cent., in Bombay 31 per cent., and in Madras 18 per cent. of the landlords are of the money lender class.

The people, moreover, are given to the most extravagant expenses at marriages and funerals. It is frequently the case that a man spends upon the marriage of a son or daughter—the latter especially—more than a whole year's income. The writer knows many who are hopelessly overwhelmed with debts incurred by the marriage of their children. And the saddest thing about it is that they have little option in this expense, which is prescribed and enforced by caste customs. For this reason most of the efforts put forth to reform this evil have been fruitless. It should also be added that this money is loaned and spent in vain, childish show, and in universal feasting, which leaves not a solid blessing behind.

Nor can another marked feature of Indian life be omitted here; and that is the rank growth, under the fostering care of religious teaching and superstition, of religious mendicancy. There are 5,200,000 of such lazy, worthless fellows encumbering this land to-day. The mass of them are sleek in body and pestilential in morals. The people are filled with mingled fear of and superstitious reverence for them; so that they will yield to their threats and give to them their last morsel. You meet this pest everywhere; he is as ubiquitous as the soldier in Italy. Whenever a man finds work too hard, he dons the yellow cloth of the religious mendicant and becomes an immediate success! But alas for the community! Hindu charity is proverbial, but it is blinder than love itself. It gives, but never intelligently, and thus fosters everywhere laziness and imposture. Such a body of worthless consumers would tax even a wealthy land. To India it is a dreadful burden and a drain.

Add to this, as another source of their poverty, the insane passion for jewels which consumes both high and low. Millions of rupees' worth of gold flows into the country annually, and most of it is melted and converted into personal adornments for women and children. For this purpose nearly half a million goldsmiths,

according to the last census, are engaged and make a comfortable living at an annual expense of nearly thirty million rupees. This is a much larger force of workmen than that of all the blacksmiths in the land. All this vast treasury of gold is entirely unproductive property and leads to much litigation and to many murders.

The litigious spirit of the people also is phenomenal. It is doubtful whether any other people on earth spend, relative to their means, in legal processes, more than Hindus. It would sometimes seem as if the lawyer, whose name is legion, is, next to the money lender, the most highly favored man in the land.

In view of all these facts, Sir W. W. Hunter's statement that "the permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves," is eminently true. And it is further emphasized by the following remark of Sir Madhava Ras, K. C. S. I., one of the very few statesmen that India has produced among its own children: "The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore avoidable evils, than the Hindu community."

But it is not so much the cause or causes of this universal poverty, as it is the existence of it, which concerns us at present. In the midst of such widespread and oppressing impecuniosity, it is doubtful whether there is enough wealth in the land to pay for so expensive a luxury as an intelligent, honest, efficient government. And yet we are convinced, notwithstanding the loud-mouthed protests of the enemies of Great Britain in this land, and the warning of some of her friends, too, that the highest prosperity of India and her ultimate redemption from indigence, also, must for a long time to come spring not from a cheapened native administration, but from the most efficient and vigilant and progressive *régime* that Great Britain can produce. The natural resources of the country are great and must be developed, and the people raised, even against their will, to a higher life by the mighty and progressive Anglo-Saxon.

Above and beyond these difficulties lies that of the rapid increase of population, which, under the peace, protection and sanitary improvements of the State, is a growing embarrassment. Every Ramasamy thinks that, whatever other blessings and functions may be withheld from him, a wife or two is his inalienable

right, and the procreation of his kind a God-given duty which he must not ignore. Moreover, it is regarded that no greater curse can befall a girl here below than that of not being asked in marriage, and no misfortune equal to that of barrenness. The consequence is that few young men and no grown up girls are found unmarried. The thought whether a bridegroom is able to support, or ever will be able to support, his wife and the inevitable family is to them absolutely irrelevant at such a time. Alas! how many times the writer has seen a bright girl tied for life to an imbecile to propagate his imbecility; and others sold in bondage to disease-rotted husbands only to disseminate, through their wretched offspring, the penalty of the father's or grandfather's sins. Thus millions of people thoughtlessly and criminally rush into the realm of parentage, only to multiply their miserable and unworthy kind, and to foist them upon an already crowded land to be a care and a burden to the State. The observing philosopher in India often asks himself whether Malthus was not, after all, right, and whether his theory might not find wise application in this land. At all events, the present outlook is alarming, as it points to a no distant future when the three hundred millions of to-day shall become doubled and the problem of life shall be vastly more complicated. And yet this difficulty confronts the State as a direct result of its success in the preservation of countless human lives that have been thrust upon it by unworthy people, and, in most cases, under the stress of senseless social customs and false religious teachings.

Famine, also, is an oft recurring and most perplexing evil with which this land has always been familiar. In times past it was the gaunt avenger which decimated the people and kept down the population within the range of tolerable existence. And the god of dirt and insanitation carried away the unneeded residue left by famine.

This is one of the very few great evils before which human power stands helpless. It is true, as we shall again see, that the government has done very much by irrigation schemes and by the building of railways to mitigate this evil. By famine funds and relief works it also strives, as it did in the last famine, to reduce the mortality and suffering arising from these seasons of drought. But the constant penury of the people and their ever living upon the verge of hunger and want, make it now impossible to save many

from the terrible result of the visitations. It is a comfort, however, to know that every year means progress in the matter, and tends, through large and conscientious efforts of the State, to make each succeeding famine less dreadful in aspect and result than the preceding one. Perhaps there is no other thing which occupies at present more of the time and thought of the imperial government than this. But to drive entirely away this gaunt demon from a land which is peculiarly liable to drought, and while the people are chronically unprepared to meet the least extra drain, is more than can be expected from any government.

It may not be out of place to mention here a difficulty of the Indian Government against which it has sometimes struggled in vain. This is a commercial one and arises from the conflicting interests of Great Britain and India. And it is also the direct result of allowing the British Parliament to subordinate the well-being of India to party interests and local commercial advantages. It must remain a disgrace to Great Britain, because a flagrant injustice to India, if she allows her legislation to be shaped and the hands of the Indian Government to be tied in response to the greed and at the beck of Lancashire manufacturers. The cotton interests of this land have more than once been thus sacrificed. And the Indian Government only recently protested against this injustice, and maintained, what is becoming more and more accepted in England, that the British Parliament must impose upon her great dependency no law or dictum which may in any way prove detrimental to its commercial interests. The Indian Government has certainly enough to contend with, without being subjected to such limitations from without.

J. P. JONES.

(To be continued.)

“CHRISTIAN SCIENCE” AND ITS LEGAL ASPECTS.

BY WILLIAM A. PURRINGTON.

IT is asked if existing laws impose any restraint upon treatment of the sick by *soi-disant* “Christian Scientists,” and if further legislation in that regard is desirable.

Mere charlatanism, unrelated to the general welfare, is not a proper subject for legislation, but quackery imperilling the public health is. Whether Christian Science falls within either category, every intelligent reader will readily determine when aware of its pretences—charlatanism being false pretension to knowledge, skill, power or achievement, and every one being a charlatan who falsely advertises himself as achieving greater results than his fellows, whether he be a medical man boasting of mysterious and impossible cures, a religious teacher preaching what he does not believe, or a lawyer proclaiming achievements that he has not accomplished or insuring results beyond his power. The term is not used offensively, nor with any desire to impute insincerity to honest believers in this new cult.

To answer the questions propounded, we must clearly understand, (1.) the true purpose and proper scope of legislative control over medical practice and matters affecting the public health; (2.) the methods taught and adopted for the treatment of the sick by Christian Scientists; (3.) the status of these people under existing law.

For the argument's sake let these concessions be made at the outset: (1.) mental stimulus exercises, and has been always known to exercise, enormous influence over the body, whether incited by such slight causes as “a harmless, necessary cat,” or “woollen bagpipe,” or by such powerful emotions as hope, fear or faith; and not only *malades imaginaires*, but sick persons, especially those

afflicted with hysterical disorders, have been and will be restored to normal health by such stimulus; (2.) the wisest physicians, as they will be first to admit, not having yet attained the limits of medical or psychical knowledge, are fallible, and often make errors of diagnosis; (3.) the *vis medicatrix naturae* is great, and, if there should be called to the treatment of a sick man two ignorant and incompetent persons, one a gloomy believer in dosing by rule, the other merely a cheerful prophet, the latter would be, probably, the more helpful, or at least the less dangerous; (4.) Socrates, Galileo, Jenner and many other persons met with opposition in promulgating truth, just as Simon, the sorcerer, Jack Cade, Cagliostro and other impostors eventually came to grief in their propaganda of lies.

These concessions are made because, in the writer's experience, no charlatan or enthusiast has yet appeared before a legislative committee to plead for the substitution of ignorance in place of medical learning, whose argument has not been, in substance, this: There are mysterious powers not possessed or fully understood by physicians, who frequently make grave mistakes; cures often follow the ministrations of clairvoyants, mediums, mind and faith curers; new truth is always opposed; therefore, medical practice should be untrammelled, and every one, regardless of character, intelligence, education or training, should be permitted to engage in the business of treating the sick for hire. A postulate must also be laid down, and he who denies it need read no further; the acceptance of new doctrines, or of old ideas revamped, by a large number of persons, of whom some may be very intelligent, is not of itself sufficient reason for general acceptance of such doctrines or ideas, or for toleration of practices founded upon them; especially if the former be contrary to ordinary experience and observation, and the latter be injurious to the public health, morals or safety. It was happily said by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, of Bishop Berkeley's belief in tar water as a specific for pretty nearly all the ills of man, that it "exhibits the entire insufficiency of exalted wisdom, immaculate honesty, and vast general acquirements to make a good physician of a great bishop;" while, of Berkeley himself, the wise and witty Doctor said: "He was an illustrious man, but he held two very odd opinions; that tar water was everything and that the material universe was nothing."

Public health laws, including therein statutes regulating medical practice, should be and are framed solely to protect the public, by providing against such harmful practices as adulterations of food and drugs, the spread of contagious diseases, maintenance of unsanitary conditions and medical treatment of the sick by unqualified persons. That the state may constitutionally and justly exercise its police power to protect health is by adjudication established beyond cavil, and by common consent so thoroughly accepted that if a pest-house or open cess-pool were established near the residence of the founder of Christian Science, she would doubtless apply, successfully, to the Courts or the Health Board to abate the nuisance, notwithstanding her teaching that a "calm Christian state of mind is a better preventive of contagion than a drug, or any possible sanative method."* The justification of medical licensing laws is that the overwhelming majority of sensible men, at all times, have believed that knowledge and training are essential to qualify a man to cope with disease; and, for this reason, the highest courts of many States and the Supreme Court of the United States, in Dent's case,† have affirmed the constitutional power of a State to enact laws forbidding unqualified persons to practice medicine, and establishing general tests of such qualification.

This is not the occasion to review the Medical Acts of the several States. It is enough to say that none of them prohibits or prescribes any special system of therapeutics or practice. To do that would block scientific progress and discourage investigation. It is not for legislatures to say how either bodies or souls shall be cured, to enact pharmacopoeias into statutes or crystallize theories, medical or religious, into law. But it is entirely right and proper for them to declare that no man shall enter upon the business of treating the sick until he is of full age and has shown, upon examination, that he has studied for a prescribed time, and acquired competent knowledge of those branches of true science, familiarity with which is, by universal consent, necessary to equip one into whose hands life and health are to be committed—physiology, anatomy, surgery, obstetrics, hygiene, chemistry, pathology, diagnosis. The licensed medical practitioner may act

* Misc. Works, p. 229. Where in these foot notes only a page is cited the reference is to "*Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*," the text-book of the cult.

† Dent v. West Virginia, 129 U. S. 114.

in any case upon any theory of therapeutics commending itself to his judgment; allopathy—if there be such a theory—homeopathy, hydropathy, electropathy, vitapathy, venopathy, osteopathy, Baunscheidtismus, magnetic healing, the Christian science of Mrs. Eddy, the pagan science of the Voodoo Queen, or a general Eclecticism.

In short, the law aims, and should aim, to require, as the only prerequisite of a medical license, satisfactory proof that the candidate is of good character and average equipment through study and training. In New York, for example, there are three Boards of Medical Examiners, representing the regular practitioners, and the Homeopathic and Eclectic Schools. Examinations are uniform in physiology, anatomy, and all the other branches of science above enumerated, wherein there is no medical schism. In therapeutics, where opinions diverge, candidates for license may demand examination according to their schools. Rhode Island's Supreme Court said lately, in Mylod's case,* by way of *reductio ad absurdum*, that Christian Scientists, were they held to be practitioners of medicine, would be entitled under the constitution of that State to a separate Board of Examiners—offering this as one argument for not holding them to be such practitioners. But why should not Christian Scientists, who make a business of attempting to cure the sick, be required to submit to examination in general medical science, quite as much as homeopaths from whose loins they have sprung, going, as do candidates from other schools, before their own board in therapeutics? It is said that they give no drugs, but they must and do make diagnosis,† and their "Mother" says that they often give medicine.§ Is it unreasonable to infer that their actual objections to being classed as medical practitioners subject to license are: (1.) that to prepare for examination requires years of study in real science; (2.) that no one with a fair knowledge of the human economy, and equipped to practice medicine intelligently, would adopt the vagaries of their *pseudo* science?

* State v. Mylod, 40 Atl., 753.

† Although Christian Scientists deny, in order to escape prosecution under medical laws, that they make diagnosis of disease, yet upon their own theory they must do so; for their teacher bids them mentally to *address by name* the disease to be treated, and argue with it. They sometimes call "diagnosis" "discernment," and Mrs. Eddy says of herself, "I have discerned disease in the human mind, and recognized the patient's fear of it many weeks before the so-called disease made its appearance in the body. . . . I am never mistaken in my scientific diagnosis of disease." (P. 194.)

§ "Departing from my instruction, many learners commend diet and hygiene. They even administer medicine for certain diseases thinking thereby to initiate the cure which they think to complete with mind!" (P. 376.)

Such being the purpose and proper scope of medical laws, the second inquiry is, What is so-called Christian Science?

The answer may, best and most fairly, be given by quoting the very words of the remarkable lady, Mrs. Eddy, who, in 1866, made the somewhat belated discovery of this branch of healing. This is the more important because many who, without having read the text-book, fancy they know, in a general way, what it teaches, would be surprised, on looking into the volume, at the vagueness of expression, hopeless confusion of thought, vain boasting, complacent assertion of impossible occurrences, virulent denunciation of all other systems, and systematic, commonplace advertising that everywhere appear. The publications to be quoted from are "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures" (Edition of 1887), and "Miscellaneous Writings, 1883-1896." The former, being the text-book wherein the new discovery is expounded, is read at the church service of the Scientists alternately with the Bible, and, if its author is to be credited, the mere reading of it, understandingly, has cured and will cure the most malignant diseases, even cancer, and indeed is the chief factor in all treatment.

At the threshold of this *magnum opus*, we are told: "The time for thinkers has come."* Hitherto, the world has got along in a thoughtless fashion; but at last the thinkers are upon us—not only those who think they think, but real thinkers; and it behooves us to heed their thought. Perhaps it is this statement, as much as any other in the book, that gives to Christian Science what vogue it has. The more ignorant the disciple, the more flattered he is to esteem himself a thinker wiser than all who have gone before. A cubit is added to his stature and he glows with self-satisfaction. When the author wrote of the Saviour: "Though Jesus is the impetus and pulse of Christianity, yet Christianity is larger than its human founder;"† and again of Bishop Berkeley: "He was a great natural Scientist in his day, and held opinions concerning 'absolute idealism' which advance his memory near to the border-land of Christian Science,"‡ she, too, doubtless felt this glow, and failed to apprehend in the words what was blasphemous to the pious, humorous§ to the merely instructed and offensive to good taste.

* P. 5. † P. 229. ‡ P. 230.

§ The poems of Mrs. Eddy, published in Miscellaneous Writings, Ch. XI., afford evidence at once of her literary craftsmanship and of her entire lack of humor. Two

Another reason why this text-book impresses the superficial as containing oracles of wisdom is, that it so often, like Dr. Holmes's katydid, says "an undisputed thing in such a solemn way;" for example, that those who are sick, or think themselves sick, should be cheered up; that fear strongly affects the system and even predisposes the timid to the sickness they stand in dread of; that children should not be coddled over-much, and that men ought to be good; trite sayings all, but to the thoughtless thinker revelations.

Yet another reason that commends the book and its disciples to the credulous is their boastful assurance of impossible results. Reputable practitioners of medicine or law do not insure success. Undoubtedly, however, such assurance inspires hope, especially in credulous minds. Mrs. Eddy does not hesitate to say that she cures the hundred cases where physicians lose the ninety-and-nine;* and her disciples have been known to give equal assurances to a patient already in the death agony.

A review of these books might be entertaining, and even profitable, if it served to enlighten any who may have accepted the "Science" without study of its genesis, by showing how, out of the time-worn speculation of idealism that matter does not exist apart from mind, a lady of Lynn, Mass., has spun a web of incoherent words† contradicting themselves on every page, and yet so attractive to the credulous as to form the nucleus of a cult and of an excellent source of revenue for the writer, and for those of her disciples who, in absolute ignorance of medical science, assume to cure every human malady; not only treating adults, but

verses from one of them, "Isle of Wight," (p. 393), may serve to illustrate her pellucid thought and style:

"Soul, sublime 'mid human *débris*
Paints the limner's work, I ween,
Art and Science, all unweary,
Lighting up the mortal dream."

"Students wise, he maketh now thus
Those who fish in waters deep,
When the buried Master hails us
From the shores afar, complete."

However trite or obscure her prose teachings, no one will deny the novelty and originality of rhyming "*débris*" with "unweary," "ween" with "dream," "now thus" with "hails us" and "deep" with "complete," and to quote Calverley's saying of other poetry, "As to its meaning, it's what you please."

* P. 387

† As if realizing how incoherent, vague and self-contradictory is her writing, Mrs. Eddy says, somewhat in the manner of Mr. Bunsby, "In the spiritual sense of my subject lies the elucidation of it, and this sense you must gain in order to reach my meaning" (p. 391). And again, "Mortal mind does not at once catch my meaning, and can only do so as thought is educated up to my spiritual apprehension" (p. 392). And finally to her disciples and general readers she intimates that she can "explicate spiritual meanings more fully" by "practical teaching," i. e., presumably by attendance on her well paid lectures (p. 17).

even helpless children, preventing the attendance of qualified medical men in critical cases, and even condemning observance of the rules of cleanliness, hygiene, diet and exercise. But with the metaphysics of the book we have here to do only in so far as it affects the practical system of treating the sick.

Originally, Mrs. Eddy seems to have been a homeopathist of the "high potency" faction, and to have been led by recognizing the medicinal inertness of high attenuations to her present theories.* She, herself, says: "Homeopathic remedies, sometimes not containing a particle of medicine, are known to relieve the symptoms of diseases. What works the cure? It is the faith of mortal mind that changes its own self-inflicted suffering, and produces a new effect upon the body."† This would be, at least, intelligible if she did not also teach that "there is really no such thing as mortal mind;"‡ that "disease is an impression originating in the unconscious mortal mind, and becoming at length a conscious belief that the body or matter suffers, . . . a growth of illusion springing from a seed of thought, either your own thought or another's;"§ that body "is the seedling that starts thought, and sends it to the brain for consciousness";§ that "the entire mortal body is evolved from mortal mind," so that a bunion would be insanity if mortal mind would only call the foot the brain;¶ that matter "is another name for mortal mind"*** and "disappears under the microscope of spirit";†† and that pain, which is presumably suffering, is "a belief without an adequate cause."‡‡ We are also taught that "disease has no intelligence to move itself about or change itself from one form to another."|| Taking again the sentence just quoted, and substituting these definitions for words, we have this remarkable result: "It is the faith of mortal mind (*i. e.*, nothing) that changes its own self-inflicted sufferings (*i. e.*, beliefs without adequate cause) and produces a new effect upon the body" (*i. e.*, an evolution of mortal mind, or nothing, which therefore is itself nothing.)

Before this jargon one may fancy the delighted new thinker, like dear Alice after reading the Jabberwock, gloriously filled with ideas, but entirely ignorant of the meaning. The most that can be made of her theory is that disease does not exist save as a

*"Homœopathy; Its Friends and its Foes." Annual address by Dr. H. M. Paine, President of the Homœopathic Medical Society of the State of New York, 1888, Trans. Vol. XXIII.

†P. 312. ‡P. 419. §P. 182. ¶P. 191. ¶¶P. 300. **P. 542. ††P. 15. ‡‡P. 342. ||P. 304.

false belief to be treated with argument; and the positive treatment of it is as follows: First of all, buy Mrs. Eddy's books and have the patient do so.* This will increase the circulation—of the book, if not of the patient. Next, deny that there is any disease, and make the patient agree with you. "Remember that all is mind and there is no matter. You are only seeing or feeling a belief, whether it be cancer, deformity, consumption, or fracture that you deal with."† Having thus established that the disease does not exist, you next proceed to "meet the incipient stage of disease with such powerful eloquence as a Congressman would employ to defeat the passage of an inhuman law."‡ No disease can stand that. Still more oddly, you are to call this disease, whose existence you deny, by name, but mentally, lest if the patient hear its name, his mortal mind will hold on to the disease; for, apparently, the mortal mind, which itself has no existence, although impressed by absent treatment and the reading of Mrs. Eddy's book, cannot let go any disease whose name is spoken out loud. But if you only address the disease mentally and speak the truth to it, "tumors, ulcers, tubercles, inflammation, pains and deformed backs. . . . all dream shadows, dark images of mortal thought, will flee before the light."§ To the practical mind it would seem that the "healer" would need some medical knowledge to make his differential diagnosis of "ulcers" and "tumors," and to distinguish between abscess, aneurism, and other abnormal conditions. And if disease does not exist, and has no intelligence to move or change itself, it does seem a bad waste of time to have any discussion at all with it.

If this were all of Christian Science, it might do little or no harm. No one would object to letting a "Scientist" hold mental conversations with the patient's disease, or give "absent treatments," or encourage the sick to "look on the bright side." And a kindly soul would no more restrain a "Scientist" from playing with his metaphysics than he would interfere with a hopeful kitten that whirls in happy pursuit of its own elusive tail—always in sight, yet never quite attained. But it is the negative teachings of the so-called Science that render its disciples pestilent and dangerous to the public health. Declaring the incantations of the Esquimaux to be "as effective in cure of the sick as the *modus operandi* of civilized practitioners," Mrs. Eddy goes on to

* P. 375. † P. 297. ‡ P. 322. § P. 301.

teach that physiology is anti-Christian. "It teaches us to have other gods before Jehovah. It is neither moral nor spiritual."* In its place she would substitute harmony; for "discord is the *nothingness* of error, harmony is the *somethingness* of truth."† "Sickness is inharmony."‡ This "new thought" is even older than that famous little dinner given by Agathon, where, notwithstanding the presence of Plato and Socrates, Aristophanes got tipsy and asked Eryximachus, the physician, why, if the latter really believed health to be only harmony and love among the members, he should prescribe anything so inharmonious as sneezing to cure hiccoughs.

No physician is to be called in by the sick. "The Scientist who understands and adheres strictly to the rules of my system . . . is the only one safe to employ in difficult and dangerous cases."§

Every form of treatment, Homeopathy,§ Mind Cure,¶ Movement Cure,** Animal Magnetism, Clairvoyance, Mediumship and Mesmerism,†† is impartially condemned. Against Animal Magnetism Mrs. Eddy is particularly bitter, apparently because, having been once "personally manipulated" by the late Mr. P. P. Quimby, "an uneducated man, but a distinguished mesmerist," it was thereafter stated that Mr. Quimby was the "originator" or her writings.‡‡ "It is morally wrong to examine the body in order to ascertain if we are in health," and "to employ drugs for the cure of disease shows a lack of faith in God.|||| "A Christian Scientist never recommends hygiene." §§ Dieting, dosing and exercise are unscientific.¶¶ It is foolish to suppose that it is exercise that increases the muscles of a blacksmith's arm; for, if that were so, the hammer, which takes just as much exercise, would also grow.*** This is one of the most powerful and characteristic arguments of the new thinker. Bathing is deprecated, although it is said that the Mother Church in Boston contains a gorgeous bath tub. "Bathing and rubbing, to alter the secretions or remove unhealthy exhalations from the cuticle, receive a useful rebuke from Christian Healing. We must beware of making clean the outside of the platter only. A hint may be taken from the Irish emigrant whose

* P. 171. † P. 22. ‡ P. 177. || PP. 186, 324. § P. 183. ¶ P. 376. ** P. 364. †† PP. 312, 213, 219, 302. ‡‡ P. 6. ||| P. 38.

§§ P. 374; Mrs. E. D. O., "at an early age learned hygiene (!) and practiced it faithfully for over twenty years" with such poor results that she "had once been laid out for dead" and "did not want to come to." A partial reading of "Science and Health" made her "a well and hearty woman." (Misc. W. pp. 401-403.)

¶¶ P. 376; *** p. 29.

filth does not affect his happiness when mind and body rest on the same basis.”* “The Scientist takes the best care of his body when he leaves it most out of his thought, and like the Apostle Paul is ‘willing rather to be absent from the body and present with the Lord.’”† “The daily ablutions of an infant are no more natural and necessary than it would be to take a fish out of water once a day and cover it with dirt, in order to make it thrive more vigorously thereafter in its native element.‡ Medical study is harmful. “Anatomy, physiology, treatises on health—sustained by what is called material law—are the husbandmen of sickness and disease.”|| Proper clothing is unnecessary; for “you would never conclude that flannel is better than controlling Mind for warding off pulmonary disease, if you understood the Science of being.”§ If one be only a Christian Scientist he “may expose himself in a state of perspiration to draughts of air without experiencing the usual ill effects;”¶ *i. e.*, Christian Science is prophylactic, and this is expressly asserted.**

The foregoing is all bad enough as to adults; but, when it concerns them only, something may be said in favor of the decision, cited by Puffendorf, in the case of a patient who sued a horse-doctor for blinding him by applying to his eyes the same ointment that was used for horses. The Cadi decided against the suitor, because: “If the Fellow,” says he, “had not been an Ass, he had never applied himself to a Horse-Doctor.”††

But what is to be said of such advice as this to mothers? “Mind can regulate the condition of the stomach, bowels, food, temperature of your child far better than matter can do so. Your views and those of other people on these subjects produce their good or bad results in the health of your child.”‡‡ “Your child can have worms, if you say so, or whatever malady is timorously holden in your mind relative to the body. Thus you lay the foundation of disease and death, and educate your child into discord?§§ Even if a child is attacked by contagious disease, Mrs. Eddy attributes the cause to maternal fear.¶¶ Thus the mother is taught that her child’s illness depends upon her fancy, and that neither physicians, remedies nor decent, cleanly care are necessary for its aid. And in the record of deaths resulting from the treatment of Christian Scientists, Faith Curers, Peculiar People, *et id genus*

* P. 354. † P. 355. ‡ P. 159. || P. 183. § P. 160. ¶ P. 314. ** P. 343. †† Puff. Book, V., Ch. IV. ‡‡ P. 158. §§ P. 159. ¶¶ P. 334.

omne, a large proportion are those of neglected children suffering from acute inflammations of the lungs, diphtheria, pneumonia and like complaints. One horrible and typical case in Brooklyn was brought to public notice by an undertaker called in by a Faith Curer to bury the latter's child, six years of age, dead from diphtheria. Two other children, one about eight, the other less than two years old, were found suffering from the same disease. The father explained his failure to call in medical aid by saying that he did not believe in doctors since he believed in Christ.* Here his delusion caused not only the death of his own child, but put in peril the public health. The same neglect would have occurred had the case been smallpox or scarlet fever.

A number of even more harrowing cases might be cited, did space or inclination serve; but their recital is needless.

Contrary to ordinary belief, even prayer is eschewed. "The only beneficial effect of prayer is on the human mind, making it act more powerfully on the body through a stronger faith in God. This, however, *is one belief casting out another*, a belief in the unknown casting out a belief in sickness."† And when we remember that "belief can only bring on disease, it can never relieve it," the inefficacy of prayer becomes manifest; and we are expressly taught that "if we pray to God as a person, this will prevent us letting go the human doubts and fears that attend all personalities."‡

The most ignorant persons set themselves up to cure the sick under this system as a business and for hire. Mrs. Eddy herself accumulates and publishes certificates of cures by herself, by her disciples and by the mere reading of her book, that are contrary to all possibility in human experience and smack in every line of the charlatan. Her volume of "Miscellaneous Writings" is in part made up of certificates differing from those that usually accompany quack nostrums, only in that they are more incredible than those the ordinary charlatan ventures to put forth. She cures cancers in one visit. A child of eighteen months, suffering for months with ulceration of the bowels, and given up by the "M. D.'s," is lifted from his cradle and kissed, he at once begins to play with his toys, and that night before retiring eats heartily of cabbage!‖ One Mrs. Armstrong writes, without date or address, to enclose a cheque for \$500, in payment of an absent treat-

* N. Y. papers, March 1, 1890. † P. 482. ‡ P. 492, cf. 484 and 393. ‖ P. 200.

ment by which heart disease and dropsy, lasting from childhood, were cured immediately upon Mrs. Eddy's receipt of a letter from Mr. Armstrong.* Hood's case of "Mrs. F., so exceedingly deaf," who purchased an ear trumpet, "and very next day heard from her husband in Botany Bay," becomes modest in comparison. But, although Mrs. Eddy personally cures fractures—did, in fact, by "absent treatment" cure the crushed foot of Mr. R. O. Badgley, of Cincinnati;† and although she expressly teaches that her Science cures acute and chronic forms of disease,‡ and fractures"|| as well as other deformities—nay more, has "raised the dying to life and health"§—she nevertheless says: "Until the advancing age admits the efficacy and supremacy of Mind, *it is better* to leave the adjustment of broken bones and dislocations to the fingers of surgeons, while you confine yourself chiefly to mental reconstruction and the prevention of inflammations or protracted confinement."¶

Here Mrs. Eddy confesses the sham of her theory. Earth often covers the physicians' mistakes, but not so frequently those of the surgeon. The vast majority of suits for malpractice are in surgical cases. The results of operations often demonstrate the malpractice. And is it not fair thus to paraphrase this sly advice: "Take any risk with the sick. If the patient die, who can prove that you caused the death? But be wary in surgical cases, for there ignorance and lack of skill, being demonstrable, may cause you to pay heavily for your presumption?" The fitting climax to this farrago of undigested metaphysics and vain boasting** is, that hunger and thirst are also mental impressions to be argued with,†† that food is not requisite to support life, although "*it would be foolish to stop eating until we gain more goodness*,"‡‡ and, lastly, that, as there is no mortal mind from which to make a mortal body, immortality is already here.¶¶

The methods of this extraordinary system of cure for the sick have been set out thus fully and, it is believed, fairly, because in no reported law case have they been brought before the Court, and the authority of any adjudicated case depends upon the facts involved. *Obiter dicta* are often as misleading as metaphysical

* P. 199. † P. 199. ‡ P. 186. || P. 358. § P. 317.

¶ P. 328. ** "There are certain self-evident facts. This is one of them that whoever practices the Science I teach, through which the Divine mind pours light and healing upon this generation cannot pursue malpractice, or harm patient" (p. 219). †† PP. 329, 334. ‡‡ P. 332. ¶¶ PP. 316-327.

speculation. Summed up, these methods consist positively in reading Mrs. Eddy's book and arguing with non-existent disease; and negatively in abstaining from everything that experience shows to be of benefit to the sick, not only specific medication and operative treatment, but diet, exercise and personal cleanliness. The evidence of the senses is not to be heeded; it is even forbidden to admit that a little child needs medical care. Surely no well-balanced mind will deny that this delusion is full of danger, no matter how sincerely and honestly many believe in it.

Thus we are brought to our third inquiry: Do existing laws suffice us in dealing with this delusion and its votaries, or is further legislation necessary in the premises? With the metaphysical and religious aspects of the delusion, the law has no more concern than with those of Mormonism, Voodooism, Shakerism, Oneidaism or any of the myriad forms of God or Devil worship. Ephraim may join himself to all the idols he desires, the law lets him alone. But neither in this life nor the life to come is every one who cries, "Lord, Lord, have we not in Thy name done many wonderful works?" to escape just punishment for working iniquity, or to be received among the saints upon his own uncorroborated testimony. By the Mormon cases, the Supreme Court of the United States has made it plain, if it were ever in doubt, that no one under the cloak of religion can violate law to gratify lust or greed, or for any other motive. Thugs may not kill because murder is their creed. And there is no reason why ignorant persons* should be allowed to trifle with human life to the public peril, even though they wish to do well and have no worse motive than to receive a fee.

The right of the State to forbid the ignorant to engage in the business of healing the sick by any system whatever, is established; and therefore whether or not such persons may practice Christian Science depends entirely upon the phrasing of the statute. Where, as in Nebraska, the law defines a medical practitioner as one who

* In order to be satisfied of the ignorance, recklessness, credulity, and assurance of the "Scientists," one need only read the "certificates" published in "Miscellaneous Works" along with Mrs. Eddy's "Poems." It seems that the new gospel has been successfully preached in the Massachusetts State Prison. One of Mrs. Eddy's correspondents, "J. B. H.," whether a temporary sojourner in the prison or not is not quite clear, writes that after reading "Science and Health" for some days he was "affected by drowsiness followed by vomiting. This lasted several hours." He then slept and "awoke healed." Thereafter in three treatments he cured a child "that the M. D.'s said was dying of lung fever." In two treatments he cured a ruptured child; and in one treatment he healed an old lady of heart disease and chills. To top off with and keep his hand in, he, in two weeks of *absent treatment*, cured a lady of insanity who never saw him, nor even suspected what he was up to. Misc. W., pp. 405, 406.

"professes to heal" the sick, the practice of Christian Science by unlicensed persons is a violation of law; but in jurisdictions where medical practice is forbidden, yet the use of drugs or instruments is made the test of such practice, the "Scientist" may pursue his business. So, too, the liability of these people to penalties for their failure to report contagious diseases or deaths of patients depends on the phrasing of the law or ordinance, and they certainly should be required, if allowed to practise, to make such reports, even though they believe in neither disease nor death.

In England, unlicensed medical practice is not a misdemeanor; and, therefore, an illegal practitioner cannot there, as with us, be found guilty, constructively, of manslaughter, should his patients die. But it is a general rule of law that a person undertaking a duty must possess skill and knowledge competent for its successful discharge. If a person engage in the business of curing the sick without such competent skill and knowledge, he becomes civilly liable in damages for injuries resulting from his incompetence; and if, by reason of his gross negligence, ignorance or carelessness, his patient die, then he is guilty of manslaughter at least, and may be guilty of murder. Upon these principles the famous quack, St. John Long, was convicted of manslaughter at the Old Bailey in 1830. And, in 1884, one Pierce was similarly convicted in Massachusetts. This gross and wicked negligence may manifest itself either positively, as when one administers recklessly or ignorantly a powerful drug, or negatively, as when a Christian Scientist or other fanatic, thrusting himself into the place of a competent person and assuming the duty of care, deprives the patient of proper attention, and permits or advises unsuitable diet, improper clothing or other harmful violation of hygienic laws. The fact that Christian Scientists, Faith Curers, Mind Curers, and practitioners of like sort, do not customarily administer drugs or use instruments, is not sufficient reason why they should escape liability for injuries resulting from their treatment. It is said in a very recent case that a shipmaster may be liable in damages for negligently losing his brig, although his negligence was due to temporary insanity; the general rule of law being that, as the results of his misfortune should be borne by him, not by the equally innocent, an insane person is to be held civilly responsible for "what in sane persons would be willful and negligent conduct." Thus, the best plea that could be made for a Christian Scientist,

religious insanity, would be of no avail in an action against him for damages proven to have resulted from his negligence.

The sum of the matter, then, is this: Under existing laws, wherever the statute forbids any one without license to undertake to "heal" the sick, or uses equivalent words, and wherever the phrase "practice of medicine" is not construed by the Courts as applying exclusively to the administration of drugs and the use of instruments, Christian Scientists, undertaking the cure of the sick without license to practice medicine, become subject to the penalties of the law. They may be also, according to the phrasing of the statute, punishable for failure to report contagious diseases, and for other violations of health ordinances. They are civilly liable in damages for their malfeasances and misfeasance; and, if death can be shown to have resulted from their gross ignorance or neglect, they may be indicted for manslaughter. English cases apparently to the contrary seem to proceed upon a theory that the negligent persons owed no duty to the deceased. The recent case, for example, of a newspaper correspondent who died while in care of Christian Scientists establishes nothing. It was not prosecuted—for what reason does not satisfactorily appear, but presumably because the fanatics in attendance on decedent were only rendering friendly services and did not owe deceased a duty. I may lawfully believe in suicide and discuss the examples of Socrates and Cato without being liable for the death of a friend who imitates them. And Mr. Justice Hawkins is said by the *Law Journal* to have carefully guarded himself against appearing to sanction the course adopted in Frederic's case.

New legislation in the premises is not called for, except, perhaps, to define "practice of medicine" more broadly in some jurisdictions. Such a definition was stricken from the New York Medical Act of 1887 by a Senator who feared it would operate against a friend of his who kept a bathing house. Last year a bill of somewhat the same purport seems to have been abandoned by the Senator having it in charge, for no other reason, so far as can be learned, than that more than the usual number of ladies appeared to oppose it. Children are now very generally protected by special laws. No statute can cure an adult of folly. Laws specifically forbidding the practice of Christian Science would only provide that cheap martyrdom which would be welcomed by an advertising business, and would be wrong, both in principle

and policy. The delusion itself is bound to die, as did that of John of Leyden and many another before and since that prophet's time; and it is quite certain to be succeeded by others.

In New York city about 1832, a period of "great awakening" that begat Mormonism and many other sects—among them one in Kentucky, whose members, in order to win Heaven by making themselves as little children, used to crawl on their hands and knees in church, play marbles, trundle hoops and otherwise manifest their infantile madness—one Matthews,* a carpenter, having assumed the name Matthias, proclaimed himself to be God, the Father. He found believers, most of them ignorant but some intelligent, procured much money and ruined many persons. He and his disciples claimed to heal the sick quite as successfully as the Scientists now do. One of them, a Mr. Pierson, a victim of religious delusion, even before the coming of Matthias, had endeavored under most distressing and pathetic circumstances publicly to raise his wife from the dead, accepting literally the verse of the General Epistle of St. James directing the elders to anoint and pray over the sick, and promising that "the Lord shall raise him up." Matthias, being eventually indicted for procuring \$630 from a Mr. Folger under the false pretence that he was God, able to remit sins, and would communicate the Holy Ghost to said Folger, the District Attorney entered a *nolle prosequi* for these reasons: To maintain the indictment, he said, I must prove that defendant's pretences were false and would deceive a man of ordinary intelligence and prudence, but no sane person would believe that Matthias is God. Matthias was, however, convicted on lesser charges.

The memory of the adventuress, Diss de Bar, is fresh. In 1888 she was convicted by a New York jury of fraud in obtaining money from a lawyer of admittedly large attainments, and a former associate of Mr. Webster. She, too, sought to cloud the real issue by claiming that the right to believe in Spiritualism was involved. During her trial, the usual train of "ladies" and "intelligent persons" attended her, one of her satellites being a former diplomat and an ex-Regent of the University of the State. Since her imprisonment her star has waned. These cases illustrate at once the difficulty and possibilities of dealing with re-

* Matthias and his Impositions, Harpers, 1836.

ligious fanatics through existing laws, when wrong theory is reduced to harmful practice.

That Christian Scientists frequently offend against the criminal law seems to be clear, and their prosecution in such cases would be of value if it enlightened the public as to their real teaching; for it seems scarcely possible that an intelligent person, becoming fully acquainted with "Science and Health" and its teachings, could fail to visit Mrs. Eddy's cult with condemnation as strong as that which she unsparingly lays upon the competing cults of Faith Curers, Mind Curers, Animal Magnetists and Clairvoyants; or that any one of taste or humor, after reading the "Poems" and quack advertisements of the "Miscellaneous Writings," would not blush to confess himself a disciple of the new "thought." Publicity will destroy the cult far more quickly than legislation.

WILLIAM A. PURRINGTON.

AMERICANISM *VERSUS* IMPERIALISM—II.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

IN the January number of the REVIEW, I dealt with the danger of foreign wars and entanglements, as one of several brave reasons against departing from the past policy of the Republic, which has kept it solid and compact upon its own continent, to undertake the subjection and government of subject races in the tropics. I now propose to consider one of the reasons given for such departure—the only one remaining which retains much vitality, for the two other reasons once so prominent have already faded away and now are scarcely ever urged. These were “commercial expansion” in peace and “increased power” in war. The President killed the first when compelled by Great Britain to give the “open door” as the price for her support; for to give the “open door” to the nearer foreigner meant the “closed door” to the products of the soil and mines of his own country. There never was and never can be any trade worth quarrelling about in the Philippines; but what little there is or can be he has given away. When the country saw Dewey’s fleet provisioned from Australia, instead of from our own agricultural land, the claim of possible expansion of American commerce there fell to the ground.

The second claim, that the Republic as a war power would be strengthened, held the field even for a shorter period than that of commercial expansion, for it was obvious that distant possessions would only give to our enemies, during war, vulnerable points of attack which had hitherto been wanting. As one solid mass, without outlying possessions, the Republic is practically unassailable. Should she keep the Philippines, any one of the great naval powers has her at its mercy. Hence Admiral Sampson warned us but a few days ago that “our risks of and dangers from war had

already increased a hundred per cent. and that we needed to double our navy." The President has just asked that our army also be doubled.

Thus the claims of "Commercial Expansion" in peace and of "Greater Power" in war have bled to death of themselves.

There remains to-day, as the one vital element of imperialism, the contention that Providence has opened for the American people a new and larger destiny, which imposes heavy burdens indeed upon them, but from which they cannot shrink without evading holy duty; that it has become their sacred task to undertake the civilization of a backward people committed to their charge. A foundling has been left at their door, which it is their duty to adopt, educate and govern. In a word, it is "Humanity," "Duty," "Destiny," which call upon us again for sacrifice. These potent cries which brought us to the drawing of the sword for oppressed Cuba, are now calling us to a more difficult task, and hence to a greater "duty."

It is encouraging to those who hold to Americanism that the chief strength of the imperialistic movement calling upon us to depart from our republican ideals, rests upon no ignoble foundation to-day. It is not the desire of gain, as our European critics assert, nor the desire of military glory, which gives vitality to the strange outburst for expansion and the proposed holding of alien races in subjection for their good. The average American, especially in the West, really believes that his country can govern these tropical people, and benefit them by so doing; he considers it a duty not to evade a task which, as he sees it, Providence has clearly imposed upon his country. The writer knows that the cynics, both at home and abroad, but especially the latter, will smile at this statement; but the extent of the ignorance of the American people in general, except in the South, about subject races and tropical conditions, cannot be realized by Europeans. This ignorance is truly as great as their belief implies. Their lack of knowledge is at fault, but the greater this lack the clearer is it that they can be credited with absolute sincerity, and with those very dangerous things when possessed without knowledge, "good intentions." The people of the South, who have knowledge of the problems of race, are with rare unanimity opposed to further accretions, and see it to be a "holy duty" to keep our Republic from further dangers arising from racial differences.

Our national history has not been such as to give our people experience in dealing with this new and essentially foreign question, but the American democracy has displayed in all national crises a highly creditable sensitiveness to the moral features of every issue presented. The deciding voice has been that of those who stood for what was made toward its abolition until the issue was placed upon high moral grounds. In the issue of secession, patriotism played the first part, but the enthusiasm of the nation was greatly quickened the moment it became a question of the emancipation of the slaves. Even in the recent issue, when the debasement of the standard of value was proposed, those who stood for the maintenance of the high standard found their strongest weapon when they placed before the people the moral side of the question, and argued that debts contracted in gold should be paid in gold; that the savings of the people deposited in banks in gold should be so repaid, and that the soldiers' pensions should be paid in money equal to any. The justice of the matter, what was right, what was fair, in other words, the moral side of the question, was potent in determining the decision.

We hear much of the decline of the pulpit in our day, and upon theological questions and dogmas its influence cannot be what it once was. Yet, as far as our country is concerned, I should say that the power of the pulpit upon all moral questions has gained as much as it has lost upon theological issues. It is not less powerful to-day in this domain in the Republic than in Scotland, and far more so than in any other English-speaking country. In such questions its voice has been potent when decisively pronounced upon one side or the other, as it generally has been; but in regard to Imperialism it has been divided. Bishop Potter, Dr. Van Dyke, Dr. Cuyler, Dr. Parkhurst, Dr. Eaton and others equally prominent stand firmly against it. On the other hand, Bishop Doane, Dr. Lyman Abbott and others have taken the opposite view, but solely from the standpoint of the good of the subject races, not in the slightest degree for our own advantage. This view, and this alone, is what gives Imperialism most of its remaining vitality.

Here is the essence of the whole matter given by Prof. Alden, of the University of Pennsylvania:

"Apropos of the missionary argument for expansion, the clergyman under whose ministry I sat last Sunday offered the following petition on behalf of the Filipinos.

"We pray Thee that those who prefer to remain in darkness, and are even willing to fight in order to do so, may, whether willingly or unwillingly, be brought into the light."

"Instantly there came to my mind the naïve remark of the pious author of the '*Chanson de Roland*,' in describing one of the victories of Charlemagne over the Mussulmans:

'En la citet nen at remes païen
Ne seit ocis, o devient crestiens.'

—that is to say: 'There was not a pagan left in the city who was not either killed or made a Christian.' So may it be in Manila, when a similar dilemma is prepared for its inhabitants."

Bishop Doane is the most prominent representative of the religious world who upholds the missionary view, and he would probably hesitate to push it to its logical conclusion, as his less known ministerial adherent does. The Bishop gives the argument of "Duty" in the following:

"Bishop Doane says that precedent seems to indicate that both by the inherent national right of sovereignty and under the existing constitution we can provide for the government of the people whom we have rescued, but that if this supposition shall be found untrue, 'then we must remember that, in the emergency, national life and duty are more important than the letter of a document, and that the Constitution, not being, as some people seem to think it, a close and final revelation of God, can be amended. . . . No difficulties and no anxieties can alter the facts or change the situation or put back the advancing movement of God's will, which tends to the final substitution of the civilization, the liberty, and the religion of English-speaking people for the lost domination of the Latin races and the Latin religion. God has called the people in America to be His instruments in a movement perhaps even greater in its consequence than the Reformation in England or the liberation of Italy or the unification of Germany, and in the spirit of dependence on Him, with the quiet courage of patient faith, we must rise to the duty of the hour.'"

It is with the view Bishop Doane presents that we anti-Imperialists have to deal, not with spouting party politicians waving the flag, and descending to clap-trap phrases to "split the ears of the groundlings." In the Bishop's words, we see some reason for the charge sometimes made against ecclesiastics, viz., that, their attention being chiefly fixed upon the other world, they seldom shine as advisers upon affairs pertaining to this. The Bishop's remedy for overcoming constitutional obstacles, for instance, is easily suggested; but such an amendment to the constitution is impossible, since upon this question all the Southern states are attached to its present provisions, and against "rescuing" and governing subject races by force. Having in their own land some experience of race problems of which the North and West are ignorant, they stand for the old Americanism. Then,

again, the Bishop reveals to us "God's will," which, he informs us, "tends to the final substitution of the civilization, the liberty and the religion of English-speaking people, for the lost dominion of the Latin races and the Latin (Catholic) religion." It may be open even for a layman who cannot pretend to know the designs of the Creator to observe that, in the case of the tropics, the Unknown Power seems to have placed an insurmountable barrier against the English-speaking race. Professor Worcester, who knows most about the Philippines, tells us that our race cannot settle there and make permanent homes, neither can it in other parts of the tropics, nor has it ever done so. It has tried to do so in India, but failed. If a British child be born there, it must be sent home. In the Philippines it is even worse. Can Bishop Doane point to any considerable or successful settlement of our race in the tropics? He cannot do so, and this fact would seem to imply that perhaps the Bishop may have misinterpreted God's will. It would seem that, perhaps, in His own way He intends the people He has placed in the tropics to develop a civilization for themselves, and is keeping His loving, fatherly eye upon His children there just as tenderly as upon the Bishop. In my travels, I have found the universal laws everywhere working to higher and higher standards of national life. All the world steadily improves. Only impatient men, destitute of genuine faith in the divine government throughout all the world, doubt that all goes well. The Bishop's eminent colleague, Bishop Potter, sees "God's will," our "holy duty," so differently from Bishop Doane. When Bishops in the same church disagree, it is difficult to decide.

Perhaps we are not justified in quoting Dr. Abbott as still an Imperialist, since his latest article in the "Outlook" is entitled "An Official Disclaimer of Imperialism." After quoting the Cuban Resolution passed by Congress, he asks:

"Why should not Congress at the present juncture pass a similar Resolution respecting the Philippines? . . . When pacification is secured, our mission is at an end. . . . The above resolution respecting Cuba was simply an affirmation of the principles of this government wrought into its constitution, vital to its life, affirmed and reaffirmed at many periods of its history. It denies that we wish either to hold people in subjection or to possess their territory as our own. Under no circumstances do the American people desire to hold under military government against their will a discontented and resisting people."

These sentiments justify the title. They are indeed a disclaimer of Imperialism, but it seems that, like Bishop Potter, Dr.

Abbott has not been favored with the revelation of God's will made to Bishop Doane, for, according to him, "whenever the subject races are pacified our mission ends;" while it is only after pacification that the Bishop's "Holy Mission" can begin to enforce "God's will" by the crusade against the Catholic (Latin) form of religion, for the introduction of "the religion of English-speaking people," of which we have in our land more than two hundred and fifty different forms, all used and loved by those who speak the English tongue. Even our valued Catholic friends are often "English-speaking people."

Nevertheless, we must recognize that, diametrically opposed as Bishop Doane and his school, and Dr. Abbott and his school are in their conclusions, they both have as their aim what they believe to be the good of the poor backward races, and neither pecuniary gain nor military glory for their own country. None of these earnest, good men have anything in common with the ranting political school. They see only serious and unsought "Duty" where the other finds "Gain," or "Glory," if not for the nation, at least for themselves as politicians.

Imperialism can become a "holy duty" only if we can by forcible interference confer blessings upon the subject races, otherwise it remains what the President once said it was, "criminal aggression." Let us see, therefore, whether good or evil flows from such interference. This is easily ascertained, for there are many dependencies of European powers throughout the world, and many races held in subjection. Has the influence of the superior race upon the inferior ever proved beneficial to either? I know of no case in which it has been or is, and I have visited many of the dependencies. Where is there anything to show that it has been? On the contrary, the mass of authority declares that the influence of a superior race upon an inferior in the tropics is not elevating, but demoralizing. It is not difficult to understand why. Take the Philippines, for instance. The prevailing religion is our own Christian religion, Catholic of course, but Christian, as in France or Belgium. In the interior, there are Mohanmedans, next in importance. Mr. Bray, the resident English consul, gives in the "Independent" a picture of happy life in Manila, which reminded me of what I had found in the East.

One of the great satisfactions in traveling around the world

is in learning that God has made all peoples happy in their own homes. We find no people in any part of the world desirous of exchanging their lot with any other. My own experience has impressed this truth very strongly upon me. Upon our journey to the North Cape, we stopped in the Arctic Circle to visit a camp of Laplanders in the interior. A guide is provided with instructions to keep in the rear of the hindmost of the party going and returning, to guard against any being left behind. Returning from the camp, I walked with this guide, who spoke English and had traveled the world round in his earlier years as a sailor, and was proud to speak of his knowing New York, Boston, New Orleans and other ports of ours. Reaching the edge of the fjord, and looking down upon it, we saw a hamlet upon the opposite side, and one two-story house under construction, with a grass plot surrounding it, a house so much larger than any of the adjacent huts that it betokened great wealth. Our guide explained that a man had made a great fortune. He was their multi-millionaire, and his fortune was reported to reach no less a figure than 30,000 kroner (\$7,500), and he had returned to his native place of Tromso to build this "palace" and spend his days there. Strange preference for a night six months long! But it was home. I asked the guide which place in all the world he would select if ever he made such a fortune—with a lingering hope that he would name some place in our own favored land. How could he help it? But his face beamed with pleasure at the idea of ever being rich, and he said finally: "Ah, there is no place like Tromso!"

Traveling in Southern India one day, I was taken into the country to see tapioca roots gathered and ground for use. The adults working in the grove, men and women, had each a rag around the loins, but the boys and girls, with their black, glossy skins, were free of all encumbrance. Our guide explained to these people that we were from a country so far away, and so different from theirs, that the waters were sometimes made solid by the extreme cold and we could walk upon them; that sometimes it was so intensely cold that the rain was frozen into particles, and lay on the earth so deep that people could not walk through it, and that three and four layers of heavy clothes had to be worn. This happy people, as our guide told us, wondered why we stayed there, why we did not come and enjoy life in their favored clime.

It is just so with the Philippines to-day, as one can see from

Mr. Bray's account of them. It is astonishing how much all human beings the world round are alike in their essentials. These peoples love their homes and their country, their wives and children, as we do, and they have their pleasures. If, in our humanitarian efforts and longing to benefit them, under the call of Duty or Destiny, we should bring a hundred to New York, give them fine residences on Fifth Avenue, a fortune conditioned upon their remaining, and try to "civilize" them, as we should say, they would all run away if not watched, and risk their lives in an attempt to get back to their own civilization, which God has thought best to provide for them in the Philippines. They have just the same feelings as we have, not excluding love of country, for which, like ourselves, as we see, they are willing to die. Oh, the pity of it! the pity of it! that Filipino mothers with American mothers equally mourn their lost sons—one fallen, defender of his country; the other, the invader. Yet the invader was ordered by those who see it their "duty" to invade the land of the Filipinos for their civilization. Duty, stern goddess, what strange things men sometimes mistakenly do in thy name!

Another reason which, we submit, renders it beyond our power to benefit these people is that, with the exception of a few men seeking their own gain, the only Americans whom the Filipinos can ever know must be our soldiers, for American women and children cannot make their homes there. No holy influence flowing from American homes, no Christian women, no sweet children, nothing there but men and soldiers, the former only a few adventurers who, failing to succeed at home, thought they could make money there. Now every writer upon the subject tells that the presence of soldiers in any town in the tropics is disastrous to both native and foreigner; that the contact of the superior race with the inferior demoralizes both, for reasons well understood. Forty-six per cent. of the British army in India is at all times diseased. What Imperialistic clergyman or intelligent man but knows that soldiers in foreign camps, so far from being missionaries for good, require missionaries themselves more than the natives. It would all be so different if Americans could settle and establish their homes in the Philippines and merge with the people, making a colony. It is in Colonies, not in Dependencies, that Britain has done good work. Soldiers will not benefit the inferior race in the Philippines. Men there for gain will not. Missionaries there

are already, in abundance. Beyond a few of a different sect of Christianity, we have nothing more we can send, and these will find welcome there if we cease warfare upon the people, while to-day they would be regarded as enemies. It is not civilization, not improvement, therefore, that Imperialism can give to the Philippines, should we hold permanent possession. It is serious injury both to the Filipinos and to our soldiers, and to the American citizens who go there. It is a bad day for either soldier or business man when, in a foreign land, he is bereft of the elevating influences which centre in the home.

The religious school of Imperialists intend doing for the Filipinos what is best for them, no doubt; but, when we crush in any people its longing for independence, we take away with one hand a more powerful means of civilization than all which it is possible for us to bestow with the other. There is implanted in the breast of every human community the sacred germ of self-government, as the most potent means of Providence for raising them in the scale of being. Any ruler, be he President or Czar, who attempts to suppress the growth of this sacred spark is guilty of the greatest of public crimes. There is no people or tribe, however low in the scale, that does not have self-government in a greater or less degree. The Haitians and the San Domingans do not require our interference. Why is it not seen to be our duty to force our ideas upon these, our neighbors? The Filipinos are not inferior to these people. On the contrary, we have Admiral Dewey and General Merritt both stating that the Filipinos are more capable of self-government than the Cubans. It may be taken as a truism that a people which is willing to fight and to die for the independence of their country, is at least worthy of a trial of the self-government it seeks. The Filipinos have done this. Even if they had not, it is better for the development of a people that they should attempt to govern themselves, this being the only school in which they can ever learn to do so. No matter through what years of failure they have to struggle, the end is certain, the successful development of the faculty of government. Through this stern but salutary school our own race traveled for centuries in Britain with varying fortunes, but the end was that constitutional government was evolved. The cost is great, but the result is beyond price. No superior race ever gave it to an inferior without settling and merging in that race—the two becoming one.

In the Philippines, and in the tropics generally, this is impossible. The intruding race cannot be grown there, and where we cannot grow our own race we cannot evolve civilization for the other. We can only retard, not hasten, their development.

India has been subject to British rule for nearly two hundred years, and yet not one piece of artillery can yet be entrusted to native troops. The people have still to be held down as in the beginning. It is so in every dependency in which the superior power assumes the right to govern the inferior, without being able to settle there and merge into it. We challenge the Imperialist to give one instance to the contrary in all Britain's possessions.

The impulse which carried many clergymen and other good people away at first was creditable to their hearts and emotions. But Dr. Abbott's remarkable article just quoted may be taken as evidence that the reason is now demanding audience, and not what we should like to do, but what conditions render it possible for us to do, or wisely undertake, is now to be soberly considered.

The Press also, like the pulpit, has done its part to stir the impulse to meet the demands of the "New Destiny," but one of the most prominent organs of all in this work, and the leading government organ in the West, the "Times-Herald" of Chicago, —to judge from its recent editorial—is also finding its hot passion chilled at the throne of reason, as it confronts and examines the conditions of the situation. It says:

"The conscience of the American people will not tolerate the slaughter of Filipinos in a war of conquest. We do not seek their land, we do not wish to replace the yoke of Spain with one bearing the more merciful and just label of the United States. Let the President announce that we have no intention to annex Asiatic territory, and that the pledge of Congress as to Cuban independence will be the pledge of the American nation to the Philippines."

If the President had said this in his message to the Filipinos there could not to-day rise before him the spectre of nearly five thousand human beings "mowed down like grass," as the cable describes, and sixty of our own fellow-citizens sacrificed and several hundreds wounded. This is the effect of his failure to say to the one people what he said to the other. His responsibility is great.

I write upon the eve of the birthday of the greatest public man of the century, perhaps of all the centuries if his strange history be considered—Abraham Lincoln. Washington, Franklin and Jefferson may have become back numbers, as we have been

often told, for, as men of the past century, they could not know our destiny; but here is the man of our own time, whom many of us were privileged to know. Are his teachings to be discarded for those of any now living who were his contemporaries?

Listen to him:

"No man is good enough to govern another without that man's consent. I say this is the leading principle, the sheet anchor of American republicanism."

It is not fashionable for the hour to urge that the "consent of the governed" is all-important; but it will be fashionable again one of these days.

It seems as if Lincoln were inspired to say the needful word for this hour of strange subversion of all we have hitherto held dear in our political life. Our "duty" to bear the "White Man's Burden" is to-day's refrain, but Lincoln tells us:

"When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government, that is despotism."

Lincoln knew nothing of the new "Duty" and new "Destiny," or whether it is "Duty which makes Destiny" or "Destiny which makes Duty"; but he knew the old doctrines of Republicanism well.

One other lesson from the Great American:

"Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defence is in the spirit which prizes *liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands everywhere*. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves and under a just God cannot long retain it."

Are these broad, liberty-loving and noble liberty-giving principles of Americanism, as proclaimed by President Lincoln, to be discarded for the narrow liberty-denying, race-subjecting, Imperialism of President McKinley when the next appeal is made to the American people? We have never for one moment doubted the answer; for they have never yet failed to decide great issues wisely nor to uphold American ideals.

Never had this nation greater cause to extol Abraham Lincoln than upon this the ninetieth anniversary of his birth, and never till to-day had it cause to lament that a successor in the Presidential chair should attempt to subvert his teachings.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

GUNPOWDER AS A LESSER EVIL.

SINCE the time when the first hostile tribes of the human race were arrayed for mutual slaughter, no contrast of equipment has perhaps ever equalled that of the armies who a few weeks ago contested the question of the eastern Soudan; yet the results of that campaign have once more confirmed the strange fact that the invention of gunpowder has made war less murderous.

The British-Egyptian brigades had all the up-to-date improvements of manslaughter machines. Besides their sixty odd Maxims, they had rapid-fire shrapnell cannon, torpedoes and repeating rifles.

The "Dervishes" had only swords, spears and muskets of a type that was used in Ibrahim Pasha's skirmishes with the Wahhabees, and in Europe here and there before the time of the Seven Years' War. They were ill-fed, ill-mounted and almost naked. Yet in the battle near Khartoum, the Khalifa, it now appears, lost after all only 7,500 out of 23,000 men, *i. e.*, not quite one-third of his whole force.

Three days later, on the other hand, a detachment of Egyptian cavalry were surprised by a troop of Soudanese swordsmen, and so nearly annihilated that their fate became known only after the escape of one of the few prisoners whom the victors had not massacred on the spot. They had exhausted their ammunition and did not invite martyrdom; but when they recognized the hopelessness of resistance it was too late. The savage Aggageers were all around them, and they had only the choice of dying game or of being sabred like trapped buffaloes.

And these two test-cases also refuted the prevalent idea that old-time battles were decided by brute force, and those of the present age—"the age of science"—by superior tactics. The ancients, too, cultivated the science of ingenious manœuvres,—to such good purpose, indeed, that it is doubtful if any strategist of the last seven decades can be ranked with such campaigners as Hannibal and Sertorius.

Marshal Turenne, the conqueror of Holland and Italy, used to sit up at night studying a translation of Cæsar's "Commentaries." General Daun, who contrived to beat the great Frederick in three different battles, modelled his tactics after the system of Fabius Cunctator.

Frederick himself achieved some of his military miracles by strategy as much as by the valor of his troops, but confessed that all the tricks of his famous "oblique order of charging columns," were practiced more than two thousand years ago by Epaminondas, the Theban. The effects of flank at-

tacks in force were understood long before the time of the first Napoleon, and decided the battles of Metaurus, Philippi, Pidnus and Zama. At Khartoum, on the other hand, neither the British nor their adversaries did much manoeuvring. The Dervishes rushed on headlong, with the blind confidence of fanaticism; the Anglo-Egyptians crouched in their trenches, in implicit reliance on the effects of the first Maxim volley.

No such hecatombs of slain Moslems perhaps ever entered paradise together; the light front ranks of the charging column went down like mown grass at the first discharge, and the continued rush of the rear ranks soon "piled the corpses spear-high;" but the difference between sword-range and rifle-range saved the reserve. The Khalifa, with all the infatuation of his prophetic furor, could not doubt the evidence of his senses, and recalled his rear guards in time to save them from annihilation.

Nor has the persistence of patriotic devotion been often carried to the length of a struggle against hope; but in the hand-to-hand fights of antiquity, when detachments of friends and foes frequently got intermingled, the *saue qui peut* was fatally apt to come too late. There was no escape from the fury of victory-intoxicated legions of trained gladiators, who had their enemies in reach of their swords, and who had come resolved to enforce the survival of the fittest in a way of their own.

For, in addition to their campaigns of plunder and conquest, the nation of the age of radical remedies now and then waged wars of extermination.

The temptation of such expedients still exists. But for the intervention of outsiders, Philip the Second would have destroyed the population of the Netherlands. "The way to abolish the nuisance of the Armenian question is to abolish the Armenians," said Rhais Pasha, only two years ago. Abdul Hamid himself could hardly have been blamed for trying conclusions, in that sense of the word, with the incorrigibly aggressive Greeks, and the *jehad* was only narrowly averted. "Reconcentration," on Captain-General Weyler's plan, was little more than a compromise between public opinion and outright murder. Eight thousand prisoners penned up in a little town of starving citizens and half-fed soldiers, could be relied upon to melt away in the course of a year or two.

But the impulsive pagans were impatient of such delays, and the history of the Mediterranean nations abounds with the records of armies taking the war path on an errand of depopulation. The three most famous sieges of antiquity, those of Troy, Carthage and Jerusalem, were undertaken for that premeditated purpose. Jerusalem then meant all Judea, and the fate of Carthage involved that of a considerable area of Punic coast-settlements. Numantia in northern Spain was likewise predestined to demolition; it would not have saved the defenders to surrender at the first summons, and to obviate worse, the entire population committed suicide.

In the crisis of the war against Pyrrhus, the Epirote, the Roman subjects of the Alpine border rose in revolt, and a consular army of 15,000 men was slain near Arretium, by the Senonian Gauls, "whereupon," says Mommsen, "Publius Cornelius Dolabella marched into the country of the Senones at the head of a large force and literally *extirpated the entire nation*, which thenceforth disappears from history."

And even when a conqueror preferred to stop short of such extremes, it was frequently thought a good plan to eliminate the adult males of a troublesome tribe.

In such cases it saved the necessity of protracted man-hunts to make

every battle a finish fight. Napoleon seems to have tried something of that sort in the battle of Friedland. By showing only a few regiments of his force in the beginning of the fight, he managed to entice the Russians across the Alle bridge, into a valley where some fifty batteries opened upon them unawares, and at the same time ordered Marshal Ney to cut off their retreat; but General Bennigsen's scouts anticipated the arrival of the trappers and enabled him to save one of his wings in the nick of time.

But worsted sword-fighters had no such options. They had marched to battle, as they would enter an arena, to conquer or die.

To an army of physically inferior men the first disruption of ranks generally meant utter ruin. Gunpowder is a great equalizer of individual prowess. The rifle-bullet of a dwarf will carry as far and hit as hard as that of a giant. On the retreat from Moscow the foot-sore, famished and almost frozen French soldiers could hardly drag themselves along, but, when too hard pressed, were still able to form squares and, with levelled muskets, make the pursuing Cossacks shrink back out of bullet range.

But the modicum of remaining strength that still sufficed to pull a trigger would have failed to draw the arrow of a Parthian war bow, and in a spear-to-spear fight their doom would have been speedily sealed. Hence the horrible carnage of legions routed by a horde of athletic barbarians.

In a *fin de siècle* review of American battles, Gettysburg is mentioned as *a ne plus ultra* of destructive fighting—"always excepting Waterloo—in proportion to the number of men engaged, probably *the most murderous battle on record*."

But even Blücher's bulletins did not claim that the French lost more than two-fifths in killed and wounded, while the French themselves never admitted much more than one-fifth. One-third is the probable truth, and that proportion was beaten at Malplaquet, and beaten out of sight in some old-time battles. In the valley of the Rhone, not far from the modern hamlet of Montelimart, a horde of Teuton invaders was brought to bay B. C. 106, by two consular armies under the command of Manilius. The barbarians were supposed to be on their way to Spain, and would probably have preferred to get across the Pyrenees in peace; but seeing their host in danger of being outflanked, they suddenly turned upon their pursuers and in the ensuing battle slew *seventy-eight thousand* out of ninety thousand men.

The battle lasted less than four hours, but the Roman historians admit that the few survivors saved themselves only by plunging into the stream at a point where a strong current carried them near the opposite bank—*minus* their spears and bucklers.

At Hadrianopolis (Adrianople), the iron-fisted West-Goths visited a similar fate upon the combined military levies of the Roman Empire, under the command of the Emperor Valens. Two months earlier they would have accepted a treaty of peace, with the permission to colonize the waste lands of the lower Danube; but, rather than save themselves by an unconditional surrender, they now risked a battle, and, perhaps to their own surprise, not only defeated but destroyed the imperialists—Imperator and all. Less than eight thousand men of the vast army were taken prisoners, and saved by the intercession of a Gothic chief.

Rome was then in her dotage; but in the prime of her republican vigor her military forces were brought to the verge of annihilation by an incidental superiority in the equestrian training of the Numidian invaders.

The Numidian cavalry of Hannibal wielded their long swords with one hand, and with the other grasped an almost impervious shield,—bridles being superfluous for the management of horses that had been taught to obey every slight touch of the rider's knee. Thirty-thousand of these centaurs held southern Italy against all comers for more than fifteen years, and slaughtered eight great armies of the nation that had decked its temples with the trophies of a thousand victories.

The Roman warriors of that age were trained in military athletics as only the Spartans and the cavalry of Frederick the Great were trained before or since, and hundreds of their centurions had tested their cunning tactics on the battlefields of Gaul and Spain; yet all these means of resistance did not save them from the carnage of Cannae, where forty-eight thousand out of sixty thousand men were cut to pieces, and the rest routed, panic-crazed and covered with wounds.

Next to the Romans, the Macedonians and Greeks could claim the championship of military prowess, when Carthage was no more; yet Roman and Grecian historians agree that at Chaeronea Sulla butchered nine-tenths of the forces combined under the command of the veteran Archelaus. Plutarch estimates the armies of the allies at "100,000 foot, 9,000 horse and 800 chariots," besides the Greek and Thracian irregulars, and admits that "of that vast multitude twelve thousand only got safe into Chalcis." Sulla took some five thousand prisoners, and needed their assistance to bury the hillocks of corpses.

Even more portentous results followed the rout of barbarians who had trusted in their strength of numerical superiority and the terror of their penchant for havoc. The aggregate of the hyperborean hordes who crossed the Alps during the first consulship of Marius seems to have exceeded a quarter of a million, but thousands had joined the half savage tribes of the Gallic border, and tens of thousands had been killed in preliminary skirmishes, before the Roman consul engaged their redoubtable war chiefs at *Aquae Sextiae*.

The loss of the Romans is variously stated at 15,000—25,000 of Italian levies and their Helvetian allies, but all accounts agree that the barbarians were annihilated, multitudes of fugitives having perished in the Alps, after 140,000 were slain on the battlefield.

Yet at least twice that number of Huns paid the penalty of Attila's attempt to complete the subjugation of the Caucasian world by the conquest of the West-Roman empire. No horseman ventured to encounter his half million rough-riders in the open field, and his baggage-train was encumbered with the spoils of a hundred cities, when his westward progress was at last stopped in the valley of the Marne, where a junta of Roman and Gothic warriors had entrenched themselves to retrieve the fate of the civilized world.

In the eighty hours' battle that began on the morning of October 9th, A. D. 451, on the Catalaunian Plains (just south of Chalons sur Marne), the Huns were repulsed again and again and cut down at the rate of *a hundred thousand a day*, till their old cutthroat king threw up the sponge in the form of a wagon-burg, and was allowed to depart with his train of bandaged survivors.

That three days' slaughter saved Europe from bestialization, and, as a case of justifiable homicide, can claim pre-eminence in the history of the last twenty centuries; but on a gunpowder basis of operations the problem could

have been solved in three hours, and at about the twentieth part of the total expense.

F. L. OSWALD.

THE NEW DIPLOMACY.

WHY should not the United States establish a National School of Diplomacy? Would not trained diplomats be better qualified than untrained ones to undertake the duties requiring tact and special knowledge? Already well-educated young men look forward to other careers than those of the doctor, the lawyer, the parson and the pedagogue. A few years ago the idea of journalism as a legitimate profession was generally scouted; now, having been taken up by certain colleges and universities as a matter of instruction, it has gained influence and dignity.

In the minds of those who have given the subject careful attention, there can be no doubt as to the need of reform in the United States Consular and Diplomatic Service. The present system of the government is obviously lax and deficient in this particular. The growing demands of our international commerce require men who are able not only to represent in their persons the best traditions of the United States, but men who are acquainted with the routine of state business; in short, men who have received special training for the responsible positions they are appointed to fill.

A School of Diplomacy in the United States ought not to be a private institution. It should be maintained under the auspices of the government, like West Point, or like the Naval Academy at Annapolis, which chiefly owes its existence to George Bancroft, the historian, who, by the way, so nobly served our country at the Court of Berlin. Why cannot men be trained to fight the battles of political science with finer skill and address and better prospect of success than is possible to the untutored aspirant?

Unlike the Europeans, Americans in the past have paid little or no attention to diplomacy as a profession. It has been left too much in the control of sordid politicians and spoilsmen. Isolated and independent, this government hitherto has not participated in the actual problems of world-building, but it seems probable now that the mighty issues growing out of the Spanish-American war will give us a voice in international councils. Henceforth the foreign policy of the United States will be closer and more technically watched by other nations than it has ever been in the past. So much the more essential then is it for us to move forward in the right direction toward our much vaunted "manifest destiny." And the surest and best way to obtain competent men to represent this nation abroad as ambassadors, ministers and consuls, is to give them a diplomatic education. This can be gained only in an institution founded expressly for the purpose. Is not this a suggestion worthy the consideration of the American Congress, of the Chief Executive and his Cabinet, of the public press, of the pulpit; in short, of all citizens who have at heart the future welfare of this Republic?

A man who has shown himself to be an excellent statesman in home affairs may not succeed at all as a foreign minister. The roster of American envoys who have been *personæ non gratae* in European and other courts is a surprisingly long one. The fact is, the raw, unlettered demagogue, who is sent abroad to typify the dignity and greatness of the United States, is often a laughing stock of the people among whom he goes. His probable

ignorance of the language of the country to which he is accredited may prove a serious drawback—his misconceptions paving the way to grave complications.

The diplomats of Europe are prepared for their careers from boyhood. The Foreign Office serves as a practical school for young Englishmen who are ambitious to pursue this profession. They begin at the lowest rung of the ladder as unpaid attachés; later on they receive small salaries and are shifted from one post to another, so that by the time they are finally promoted to an ambassadorship they have gone through every grade of the service and are thoroughly equipped in languages, customs and court usages of various countries, and especially with information concerning those countries that often proves of inestimable value to them in their position as ministers plenipotentiary. It is with such discipline as this that our future public men should be provided. Everything that helps to remove the gambling taint from politics should be tried; for who can deny that American politics as conducted to-day is a gambling game on a gigantic scale and for big stakes?

The Diplomatic School may be made entirely practical in its system of instruction. Located in Washington, its corps of lecturers might include some of the more eminent members of the Senate and of the lower House, and occasionally, perhaps, some of the foreign ambassadors and ministers might be induced to deliver addresses before the School. The magnificent Congressional Library would be close at hand and accessible to the students in their historical research. It is probable that more than one public-spirited philanthropist would bequeath to the institution money to be given annually in stated amounts as prizes for scholarship, the best political theses, etc. When necessary, Congress would furnish a sufficient appropriation to keep the building in proper repair, to pay the salaries of the president and faculty, and for the other expenses, which would be inconsiderable. As to that, however, I believe that within a short time the School would be more than self-supporting. Certainly it would not languish for lack of students; the class-rooms would be crowded. Hundreds of young men fresh from college, and others ambitious to enter public life would flock to such an institution and clamor for admission. The *crux* would be how to accommodate them all. Whether women should be admitted is an inquiry that does not concern the writer, at least in the present article. But, in passing, it may be pertinent to observe that few if any of the organizers would oppose their admission; though how such a course could practically benefit women is not obvious, unless indeed those thus enrolled expected to marry diplomats. In that case, it is conceivable that knowledge of how to proceed in a delicate international negotiation might enable a woman, with an official husband, to assist him by refreshing his memory as to historical precedents and other erudite matters concerning which he might become rusty. But it fairly may be questioned whether even the most hopelessly advanced woman expects to see the day when members of her sex will serve as ambassadors at the Court of St. James's or at Paris or St. Petersburg.

Diplomacy is like chess playing; the science of both may be acquired—not to the degree of utmost skill, perhaps, attained by Machiavelli in the one or by Steinitz in the other. But the principles of diplomacy may be mastered, when properly taught, so that the student who gets his degree of Doctor or Bachelor of Diplomacy, or whatever it may be designated, will be prepared to render more efficient service for the government than the man

who, however brilliant in mind, does not possess that particular kind of culture and special drill. It seems almost absurd to emphasize an A, B, C, proposition like this—and yet we have no such school.

Now what, if any, are the objections to it? I have talked and corresponded with a number of men whose opinions would give weight to the idea here suggested, were there space in which to quote them, and without a single exception they have approved it warmly, and, in some cases, enthusiastically. One United States Senator, recently elected, assures me that he intends to propose the idea to his colleagues in a formal address, which, I sincerely hope, will be “the effort of his life.”

It is not too late in our national existence to learn many things; and since in other civilized nations diplomacy long has been regarded as a science and a profession, it is high time that we should arrive at the same conclusion. There may be some old fogies, in their dotage, who will argue against it as being an experiment and all that sort of thing; but so was the Magna Charta confirmed by Edward I.; so was the Declaration of Independence; so was the first Atlantic cable; so have been many good things.

The employment by the government of graduates from such a School, not only as envoys and consuls, but in the departments where something more than mere clerical accuracy and faithfulness are required, would tend to weed out many retainers of Uncle Sam, who have outlived their usefulness as public servants and have been rewarded many times over for their partisan zeal. Under the present corrupt system of lavishing party plums upon all kinds of “machine” heelers and henchmen, the *personnel* in many important and responsible functions of the government is of a haphazard, motley character, without that *esprit de corps* which would be insured were these preferments bestowed by the rule of fitness and merit. Were administrative appointments based upon the mental and personal qualifications, the School-bred competitors would get, and ought to get, the most desirable billets, with such exceptions as would occur now and then. There would still remain enough offices for needy and perhaps deserving place-hunters of the stripe that invest the capital.

It might be advisable for the George Washington Memorial Association, of which Mrs. Ellen A. Richardson of New York city is President, and Mrs. Susanna Phelps Gage of Ithaca, New York, the Recording Secretary, to co-operate with the government in providing for such a school, as a part of the proposed great National University at Washington. The object of this Association, which is very largely made up of wealthy women, and in which the Daughters of the Revolution are deeply interested, is to carry out George Washington's bequest in his will, in which he set aside some stocks in a Potomac plots company, for the purpose of building a great national university in the city of Washington. Long ago the stocks proved worthless, and although the matter has been brought before Congress repeatedly, nothing tangible was done about it until the patriotic women of the country took hold of it. Here is a suggestion which it is certainly worth their while to consider carefully.

At present there is but one great School of Diplomacy in the world. This one is in Paris and is called *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques*. Established under government patronage a number of years ago, and securing among its faculty some of the foremost minds of France and of Europe, it has flourished from its inception, and to-day numbers on its roll several hundred students from all parts of the world. Among its famous instruc-

tors have been or are: H. Faine, M. Levassem, Albert Sorel, Renault, Funck-Brentano, Léon Say, André Lebon, Anatole Leroy-Beaulien, De Fonville and others. Some among those mentioned hold very high and responsible positions in the French government.

The curriculum of this school embraces the study of (1.) Diplomacy—including the duties of Minister of Foreign Affairs, Legations and Consulates; (2.) Councillor of State; (3.) Administration—both central and department; Ministerial Litigations under Prefectures, etc.; (4.) Inspection of Finances; (5.) the Exchequer. Moreover, the curriculum includes the elements of superior instruction, which usefully complete the preparation of a student for certain high commercial positions, as, for instance, in a bank, or in the management of a large corporation.

This is not all; the range of instruction, with its classifications, is very wide and comprehensive. For example, in the administrative section are included lectures on administrative organizations compared; financial systems of the principal nations; public revenues and imports; political economy; statistics and commercial treaties since 1789; constitutional law in France, Germany and the United States; the Constitutions of Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary and Belgium; parliamentary and legislative history of France since 1789, etc. A series of lectures upon several of these subjects extends through the whole two years' course; others are concluded in one year.

In the diplomatic section, the following are some of the subjects pursued: Diplomatic history from 1789 to our days; contemporary Europe and Eastern affairs since 1856; diplomatic history from 1648 to 1789; economical geography; commercial treaties since 1789; commercial legislation compared, etc. In the economic and financial section the subjects included in the first two are discussed. Finally, in what is termed the general section, public law and history are considered under several of the foregoing titles.

In the special courses information of the most vital importance is dispensed to the students by the professors, among whom, as I have said, are several in the service of the French government, as, for instance, M. Albert Sorel, who is a high authority on the organization of diplomatic service, procedure of a negotiation, character of the principal courts and cabinets of Europe, etc. Everything in the realm of political economy, from the theories of Adam Smith down to those of Henry George, is investigated; socialism is defined and treated. Here are themes selected at random: maritime law and jurisprudence; the cabinet of Richelieu; the aristocracy; historical precedents; constitutions of particular states, Russia, Turkey, and the Danube provinces; the Egyptian question; Catholics and Protestants; independence of the United States; the public domain; railways, telegraphs, the postal service; fiscal revenues; public expenditures; provincial affairs. All these and many other important matters are brought to the notice of the young men who attend this school.

Those who are educated in this institution for official careers almost invariably succeed when they compete for positions. Of late years, all pupils presented for the Department of Foreign Affairs by this school have been received in first ranks. In the general competition a large percentage of the candidates from the *École des Sciences Politiques* are successful. Abundant examples might be cited.

A School of Diplomacy in this country might well be modeled after the one in Paris with, of course, such modifications as would place it in accord

with the genius of our government and people. It would necessitate many new text books from the pens of constitutional lawyers, historians and specialists. The old files of *The Congressional Record*, which has been so much ridiculed by the newspapers for its dry chronicles, would have a magic value to compilers and delvers.

A certain American university has been considering the advisability of adding an eclectic course in diplomacy to its curriculum. If this laudable project is carried out, and the instruction is sufficiently comprehensive, the result will be good for the university and for the nation. But its influence and success must, of course, be local and limited. International law and political economy constitute but a small part of a rounded diplomatic education. The average college graduate enters life with a smattering of knowledge of these two profound studies, but there is not one in fifty to whom they ultimately prove of practical account.

A National School of Diplomacy in Washington would open to bright young men the vista of a brilliant career. With such an institution in active existence, the President of the United States, in doling out his patronage, would know just where to place his hand upon a certain number of worthy candidates for appointment. The project is in perfect accord with the principles of Civil Service Reform, whose standard it would tend to elevate. The government can well afford to try the experiment, and it is hoped that the women of the George Washington Memorial Association will lend their valuable assistance to it.

LEON MEAD.

WAR CORRESPONDENTS.

THE newspaper reporters who follow an army or a navy into action and day by day telegraph the happenings in the field, must now be reckoned with very seriously by those who plan and attempt to carry out any campaign of battle.

The war correspondent, as such, first appeared, I believe, in the Crimean War; though, to be sure, the chroniclers and reporters have been watchers of all military movements since very early times. It has, however, only been within comparatively recent times that the war correspondent has become a recognized part of every army, a part of the *impedimenta* which, at times, must be very embarrassing indeed both to commanders and subordinates. In England, the war correspondent is often regarded as a specialist among newspaper writers, and a man takes up this branch of the profession seriously and earnestly, just as a medical man will devote most of his time to the treatment of the eye or the throat. As England always has some kind of a war on her hands these men have the chance for tolerably constant and remunerative employment. Some of them, indeed, receive retaining salaries, and in between wars they hold themselves in readiness for service in the next campaign.

These men are the elect of the profession, for they have pleasant and profitable employment, and the satisfaction also of public recognition of their work when it is good, and when, to do it, it has been necessary to use both courage and enterprise.

In America, it has been a generation since we had a war until this little conflict with Spain. To be sure, we have had Indian fights now and then, fights in which our soldiers displayed military ardor, zeal, endurance and

resourcefulness. But none of these were on so large a scale that they held the public attention for more than a few days at a time. The war correspondent therefore in America has never become a profession, as it has in England, and when war was declared by Spain the newspapers selected this man and that—most of them quite without experience of war or even the preparation for war—and sent them off to tell the country what was happening in the camps in Florida and in the fleets in the Caribbean Sea.

The eyes of the whole country were upon that section, and we were all very naturally anxious to know what was going on, and further than this we wanted to know what the next, or rather the first, movement would be. These reporters, of course, were well aware of this interest at home, and none of them is to be blamed for trying to gratify this natural desire. But there are ways and ways of doing things, and I have no hesitation in saying that the New York methods of gathering news, when transferred to a camp in the field or a fleet at sea, are likely to do a great deal of harm to the side whose operations are reported, and at the same time give valuable information to the enemy against which that side is operating.

It is therefore imperative that the authorities should recognize the war correspondents, and establish rules and regulations which must be lived up to in letter and in spirit; and there should be penalties for disobedience—military penalties—quick and serious.

It is quite true it was required in the late war that civilians who went with the army or the navy should have some sort of a license granted by the War or the Navy Department. But these privileges were given, as a matter of course, to all who asked for them, and there was even less inquiry as to the character of such an applicant than there was when a man sought a staff position as quartermaster, commissary or adjutant-general. When an aspiring patriot desired to put on the uniform of the army and to decorate his shoulders with the insignia of rank, he was required to produce political influence as an endorsement of his ability; but in the case of the man who wanted to join the forces to tell the world how every thing was to be done, how it was accomplished and how it should have been performed, no inquiry was made as to his physical, mental or moral fitness—he was taken along as a matter of course to become a dangerous and embarrassing portion of the *impedimenta*.

The result of this lack of selection was that, when the army was in Florida, there were scores and scores of these irresponsible reporters about every camp. They nosed about, picking up every blessed crumb of intelligence they could find, including the mere camp gossip, and this stuff was sent off to the newspapers and given the dignity of print. In their desire to give importance to their reports, these soldiers, who had never been in action, were already heroes. Every one was a hero. If he lived, he was a hero; if he fell sick, he was a stricken hero; if, alas, he died, he was a martyred hero, and so on to the end of the chapter; the reports having started out in a high and a sensational key, they had to be kept at that pitch throughout. In all this there was no particular harm, except that the public got a trifle tired of it all. But the spirit—the spirit of newspaper enterprise, “yellow journalism” enterprise, no doubt—was the same in this as it was in more serious matters, where great and lasting harm was done.

Whatever plans were made at Washington for going to Cuba, those plans were known in very short order at Madrid and Havana. And why not? The New York papers printed all of them in full, and the papers in the

other parts of the country as well. We had a censor here to prevent this, but this censorship appears to have been inefficient. The time for starting to Cuba, the strength of the army of invasion, and every other particular were known in Madrid almost as soon as in Tampa, from which the expedition started. To be sure, they did not know in Madrid what a muddled mixture this army carried as stores, but then General Shafter did not know this himself—probably he does not know it yet. But if this great source of weakness had been known, the Spaniards would have known it too. Indeed, if the several hundred war correspondents at Tampa and thereabouts had been men of trained experience they would have known about the supplies and discovered this weakness to the world, the Spaniards included. Mr. Poultney Bigelow, one of the few writers who had previously seen armies prepare for serious work, appears to have had no difficulty in finding out in short order that the invading army was most ill prepared for the work that was cut out to be done. The rest of them said that Mr. Bigelow was a slanderer; some said that he was a traitor. And so the merry war of words from this army of reporters went on—the country meantime vexed with anxiety and suspense.

Things were better managed in the navy, for the naval operations were conducted by professional men who knew their business. But even the naval operations were hampered by the newspaper reporters and their despatch boats. One expedition to Porto Rico was quite abandoned on account of the premature publication of the plan. At all times the despatch boats were in the way, and it is really wonderful, considering the foolhardiness of some of these small craft, that none of them was fired on and hurt. In one instance the Associated Press boat led the valuable battleship "Oregon" a chase of a hundred miles before disclosing its identity. When the colors were shown, the despatch boat officers treated the matter as a great joke, and boasted of it as a retaliation because fuller news of the operations to be made had not been disclosed. I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that the war correspondents responsible for this joke should have been taken aboard the battleship and put in irons, or even given a taste of the cat.

Later, so as to give spice to their tales, these correspondents represented that Sampson was trying to steal Schley's glory for the victory over Cervera, and they so inflamed some weak minds that I actually heard Sampson's name hissed in a public meeting. This to be sure was not an injury to the public, but it was a public injury to a man who did a great service to his country.

Whenever it is suggested that the license of the press be curbed, there is always a charge that hidden in the suggestion is an attack on the liberty of the press. It does not make much difference how this suggestion be denominated. In military matters the laws that usually prevail are abrogated and military law is dominant. Now the war correspondent is not known to the military code. He is a more recent creation, and his evolution and multiplication in this last war has made of him a serious menace to the successful operations of any military commander. I do not propose to restrain him so much as to regulate him. In his life and in his work he must be responsible to military authority. Hitherto, and specially was this so with Shafter's army, correspondents were given the news, that is, the authorized news, as a matter of favor. Some were told fully what was going on, some were told nothing. Under the heterogeneous conditions

which existed, this was probably inevitable: then again, these favors may have been given and withheld according to the ideas of the trustworthiness or untrustworthiness of this man or that. As a matter of fact, in this particular instance it was merely a case of favoritism—the commanding general chose to like one man and to dislike another man. But the system is all wrong.

In the first instance, none but picked men—men of approved intelligence and fidelity—should be allowed by the authorities to go with an army as correspondents. When such picked men join an army they should be compelled to live and act according to military law—to conduct themselves as officers and gentlemen—and they should be subject to all the penalties that other men in the face of the enemy are liable to. Then, on the staff at each headquarters, there should be an officer detailed for the sole purpose of dealing with the correspondents. He should tell what it is safe to tell, and no more. With such an arrangement a general can go ahead with some assurance that his plans have not been disclosed to the enemy by his newspapers at home. In the present haphazard style of collecting and printing war news lurks great danger, and it may lead to very serious consequences should we ever encounter an enemy somewhat near to us in numbers and in wealth.

JNO. GILMER SPEED.